

Introduction

On 4th April, 1980 the National Executive of the Janata Party adopted a resolution prohibiting members of RSS to continue in the Janata Party. This resolution was sequel to the fears entertained by Chandrashekhar's Group and a few Socialists who had not left the Janata Party when the split caused by Ch. Charan Singh took place and others that the erstwhile Jana Sangh would capture the party on account its mass base and large army of dedicated workers.

This development was anticipated by leaders and workers of the Jana Sangh and RSS background in Janata Party. So they had asked Jana Sangh workers from all over the country to assemble at Delhi before the meeting of the National Executive of Janata Party and to be prepared for all eventualities.

The resolution adopted by the National Executive of Janata Party was not acceptable to erstwhile Jana Sangh constituent and to several other leaders and persons in Janata Party who had no RSS background. The Jana Sangh constituent had sincerely worked towards the strengthening and smooth working of the Janata Party. Even though it constituted the largest single constituent of the Janata Party and had a larger popular base in the country it did not ask for proportionate share either in Janata Government or in Janata Party and was content with whatever was given to it. The Jana Sangh constituent wanted Janata Party to succeed and emerge as an alternative to Congress which had ruled the country for three decades prior to 1977.

In this background, there was a feeling of regret and unhappiness as well as of good riddance and relief in the Jana Sangh

workers. The condition imposed for membership of the Janata Party was unacceptable. No such condition was stipulated when the Janata Party was formed and this matter had been settled before the merger of the constituents to form Janata Party. This being raised at this stage was not for any genuine reason arising out of the manner in which Janata Party or Janata Government was functioning during 1977 to 1979, but for ulterior reason to control the party. RSS had not interfered in any manner either in the functioning of party or Government.

Two days after, the adoption of this resolution the Jana Sangh workers held a Conference on April 6, 1980 at the Kotla ground in Delhi and decided to part company with Janata Party. The general mood was of unhappiness and of being forced to leave a party which had been formed under the inspiration of Jayaprakash Narayan with high hopes. There was, however, no alternative.

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was, thus, launched on 6th April, 1980. The party had no organisation of its own but millions of erstwhile Jana Sangh workers were there and had to start from a scratch. The party had, however, able leadership with national standing.

Atal Bihari Vajpayee had acquired a popularity and standing as a National Leader which went beyond the confines of the party. Even in the Jana Sangh period people had started considering him as a future Prime Minister of India. His performance as Foreign Minister in the Janata Party Government was considered an outstanding success and led to improvement of relations with all neighbors including Pakistan. During this period, the relations with United States of America were strengthened without in any manner jeopardising the traditional friendly relations with USSR.

L.K. Advani had also the stature of a National Leader who was admired for his balance, maturity and caliber. He was the President of Jana Sangh during J.P.'s movement and when Emergency was declared. As an Information Minister and Leader of Rajya Sabha during Janata Government, he had acquired great reputation for his performance in the ministry and tactful handling and management of Government business in Rajya Sabha despite the fact that Janata Government was in minority in Rajya Sabha and Indira Gandhi's Congress dominated this house.

Besides these there was a galaxy of other leaders who worked with dedication selflessness and competence. These included Nanaji Deshmukh, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, S.S. Bhandari, K.R. Malkani, V.K. Malhotra, Kushabhau Thakre, Jana Krishnamurthi, Kidarnath Sahani, J.P. Mathur, Sundar Lal Patwa, Bhairon Singh Shekhawat and Shanta Kumar. Many eminent persons who had no RSS background such as Jethmalani, Shanti Bhushan and Sikander Bakht also joined the party.

The leadership available to the party was a great asset. The party had also inherited a disciplined, dedicated and hard working cadre of workers from Jana Sangh. The band of workers available to the Bharatiya Janata Party was willing to face any challenge.

Thus, the Bharatiya Janata Party started with able leadership and dedicated and disciplined cadre on its journey to become an alternative to Congress and to work for making India a developed and prosperous country not only in the material sense but also culturally and spiritually in keeping with its tradition and culture.

Atal Bihari Vajpayee assumed the Presidentship of Bharatiya Janata Party and Shri L.K. Advani became the General Secretary. It was decided to convene a Plenary Session of the party in December, 1980. The period between April and December, 1980 was utilised for intense activity throughout the country to build the party. During this period, about 25 lakh members of BJP were enrolled.

The plenary session of BJP was held at 'Samata Nagar' at Bombay on 28-30 December, 1980. L.K. Advani describes this convention as follows:

"The Bombay Convention of the BJP has been universally acclaimed as a landmark in recent political history. It has evoked sharp comments from admirers and critics of the party alike.

Veteran statesman Shri M.C. Chagla, has described the party as 'a glimmer of hope' in an otherwise very depressing situation. In a symposium titled 'The Challenge of 1981' published by Times of India's **Sunday Review** (January 18, 1981), Chagla wrote that "there is just a glimmer of hope which is beginning to show itself and that is the extraordinary strength which this new party, the Bharatiya Janata Party, has shown.... And if this party goes on from strength to strength and receives the support of people from all over the country we might at last have a democratic alternative to Indira's Government."

There is hardly a paper or news magazine in the country which has omitted to comment on the BJP convention. Some of the excerpts from these are given below:

The **Indian Express**, New Delhi in its editorial dated January 1, 1981 'successful session' describes the convention as follows:

"It will take sometime yet for any splintered branch of the former Janata Party to regain credibility as a viable alternative to the ruling party at the Centre. The historic opportunities frittered away by the perpetually bickering, self-centered senior leaders of the Government swept into office in March, 1977, by the popular reaction against the emergency imposed by Mrs. Gandhi are hard to forget or forgive. But judging by its session in Bombay, the Bharatiya Janata Party is beginning to fill the vacuum. The resolutions adopted and the principal speeches, particularly by Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, struck the right note. The large crowds attracted to the session also indicated a widening public desire to look for a replacement to the Congress-I.

Particularly welcome are the BJP resolutions and clarifications by Mr. Vajpayee, on economic policy and foreign affairs. They reflected some of the most promising initiatives attempted by the Janata Government during its brief tenure. It is all very well for the Prime Minister to try to hit back at the 'new Gandhian Socialists'. But they have struck a chord in the public memory precisely because the policies and behaviour of her Government shows no sign whatsoever of being influenced by the philosophy and moral approach of the Mahatma whose name she happens to bear. It was obviously not easy for Mr. Vajpayee to secure a commitment to 'Gandhian Socialism' in the face of opposition from the traditionalists in his own party.

The BJP can help to restore a degree of non-aligned credibility to India's foreign policy by campaigning against the tilt it has taken towards Moscow, especially in the wake of the soviet occupation of Afghanistan. It can work to restore the confidence of our neighbours in our respect for and commitment to their independence which the Janata Government tried to do. It can try to draw the country back from the rush towards a centralised, heavy industry dominated economy that has accelerated since Mrs. Gandhi came back to office. All these things were promised in Bombay. Claims were also made that the BJP had established a genuine party organisation reaching

down to the grass-roots. The failure to do so, after being constituted with the blessings of Jayaprakash Narayan, was the main factor responsible for the Janata Party being associated only with the clashing ambitions of the veteran trio at the top. If the BJP is really sincere about building up a democratic party structure and is able to avoid the temptation to play power politics before it is finally established, it may deserve the endorsement it has received from Mr. M.C. Chagla and other respected non-political leaders."

The **Times of India** in its editorial dated December 31, 1980 'BJP's New Image' writes:

"The first All-India conference of the Bharatiya Janata Party which concluded in Bombay on Tuesday was, by any reckoning, an impressive show. The attendance of no less than 44,000 delegates, the memorable procession in which the Party President, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, was taken out and the huge rally at Shivaji Park at the end of it were clear signs of the growing influence of the party. However, it was primarily because the session gave ample proof of the changing outlook on the part of the party leadership that it became a notable political event. Most of the leaders grew up with the Jana Sangh. Yet, there has been a refreshing realisation on their part of the need to outgrow the sectarian appeal of the Jana Sangh if the party is to become a truly national party. So far they expressed hesitant support for the goal of 'Gandhian Socialism.'

They have now given it formal imprimatur as the party's creed. On economic issues, too, the BJP has come a long way from its predecessor's routine attacks on the public sector.

Clearly, the BJP is making a serious attempt to live down the Jana Sangh's reputation as a communal party as well as one that represented essentially the interests of the trading classes. It will be wrong to dismiss all these shifts as no more than tactical maneuvers. There is no doubt that the experience of sharing power at the Centre in the 1977-79 period gave Mr. Vajpayee and his colleagues a more mature understanding of the complex issues facing this country. The policies which they have now formulated are to a large extent the by-products of this experience.

BJP is now consciously trying to win recognition as a centrist party rather than the right-of-centre party as the Jana Sangh was content to be known. It also seems from the speeches of the

party leaders at the session that they will increasingly stress the importance of effective governance. Whether all this will enable the party to emerge as a credible contender for power is anybody's guess. But there is no mistaking the self-confidence with which Mr. Vajpayee and his colleagues are trying to build up the party as an alternative to the Congress (I).

The **Tribune** in its editorial dated December 31, 1980 'A party takes shape' says:

"Perhaps the maximum that can be hoped for after the first national convention of the Bharatiya Janata Party is that this political organisation born from the ashes of the Janata conglomerate, is at last taking shape. That by itself is some achievements during the eight months since the BJP came into existence. A national convention on the scale that the party was able to stage at Bombay needed not only logistical skill but also a strong urge among a large number of people to get together for the establishment of a common purpose. That the BJP is the only political organisation outside the Communist groups to have made such an attempt is an indication of a certain resolve. The attendance at the plenary session has been estimated at 50,000 including several thousand women. There was obviously a measure of enthusiasm behind the event, and it is interesting that the President, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, was the Centre of considerable attention including a long and handsome tribute from Mr. M.C. Chagla."

"Samata Nagar", the significant name given to the venue of the Bombay convention, was presumably intended to indicate the political-economic direction which the leaders wish to give to the BJP 'Samata' denotes an emphasis on 'equality' which, in the BJP vocabulary, stands for socialism with a humanistic base. The direction became evident from some of the speeches made at the convention and the party's pledged determination to strive for the creation of a society where every citizen, irrespective of caste or creed, is an equal partner in the destiny of the nation. The accent in the economic policy will be on a programme to uplift the poor and the unprivileged. At the same time, however, the party has tried to face the political facts of life by expressing support for the agitation against 'foreigners' in Assam and in favour of the farming community. The essential thrust of Vajpayee's presidential address

on Sunday was opposition to authoritarianism and support for parliamentary democracy. The BJP had already been identified with the liberal concept. What it now needs more than anything else is a clear approach to the country's economic problems and a strong organisation on the ground."

Shri B.D Maniam writing in **Sunday Statement** on January 4, 1981 under the title 'Some Notable Aspects of BJP Convention' points out:

"The large turnout of delegates at last week's convention of the Bharatiya Janata Party in Bombay, the massive attendance at the two public meetings, addressed by the BJP President, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and the warmth with which he was greeted by ordinary people as he was taken to the first meeting in what was one of Bombay's most impressive processions – these have all been widely noticed.

One aspect of the convention has, however, gone virtually unnoticed: its being relatively free from any obsession with Mrs. Gandhi and what she might or might not do – the kind of obsession that had been oppressively present at practically all conferences of Opposition Parties in recent years. The BJP convention was, unlike them no gathering of frightened men.

There was, on the contrary, a quiet but palpable self-confidence. This seemed significant. It certainly made for constructive deliberations.....

The convention was notable also for two coups – it pulled off. One was the presence of Mr. Justice J.C. Shah at the conference of Lawyers for Democracy organised more or less as an adjunct to the BJP convention. He presided over that conference. "I take it that the expression 'for democracy' means for the defence of democracy", he said pointedly as he began his speech.

The other was the presence of another eminent jurist and patriarch, Mr. M.C. Chagla, at the BJP convention itself and his 40-minute speech to it. That speech was as much a benediction as it was an exhortation, and the climax of the convention.

BJP leaders and delegates alike seemed overwhelmed by his high praise for the party and Mr. Vajpayee (one of the finest men I have known) and his unequivocal assertion that the BJP alone, of all the Opposition parties, had the credentials for becoming the

alternative to the present rulers.”

BJP leaders were even more overwhelmed when, on completing his speech, Mr. Chagla insisted on staying back and sharing with them their Spartan lunch.

Another notable feature (and one not fully reported) was Mr. Vajpayee’s powerful defence and the first made publicly, as far as, one can check-of his record as Foreign Minister in the Janata Government, and his aggressive questioning of some aspects of the present Government’s foreign policy. This was during his speech on Chowpatty Beach on the third and concluding day of the session: a speech repeatedly cheered for its forcefulness by the record audience.

Shri Narendra Sharma writing in the **Mainstream**, January 10, 1981 under the title ‘BJP’s New Look’ says:

“Bharatiya Janata Party leaders deserve credit for the remarkable skill with which they managed to force nationwide attention through sheer numbers of participants in their first national convention held in Bombay on December 28-30, 1980. The huge Pandal and the various Nagars each named after a sacred river of India made it evident that they were expecting large number of participants, although it appeared on the inaugural day as if their expectations had been far surpassed and the entire arrangement was bursting at seams. Whole families had descended on the Bandra Reclamation Ground and even children could be seen sporting the delegate cards, with the word *Pratinidhi* printed in black Hindi letters on a *Bhagwa* background.

The organisational skill was all the more admirable this time, for the policy they had come to vote for was alien to most of them; the erstwhile Jana Sangh cadres hardly had time during the Janata days to acquaint themselves with the mysteries of Gandhian Socialism. Power struggle, intra-group bickering and ‘dual membership’ had kept them engaged most of the time. Barring a few top leaders like Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani and their close followers in the states, the rest of the erstwhile Jana Sangh had felt relieved when the parting of the ways came as between the Jana Sangh and the Janata Party.

The Bombay convention in this context could be said to have been made a success largely due to the known capacity of the erstwhile Jana Sangh cadres to mobilise their ranks and

sympathisers. Credit should go to the leaders to have enthused those cadres even though the ideology and spirit that roused them during the Jana Sangh days had to be kept low and they were called upon to display an attitude, approach and outlook different from the one they had been trained in four years under the Jana Sangh.

This is not to say that the Bombay BJP National Convention was merely a revival of the Jana Sangh under different nomenclature, flag and election symbol with a new ideological label Gandhian Socialism attached to it. To say so would be an over-simplified understanding of the compulsive evolution of the BJP. Its chief Vajpayee has declared more than once that there was no going back to the Jana Sangh. From all indications, he means it. BJP General Secretary Advani, for instance, explained that this new party, in contrast to BJS, “was not based an ideology but idealism.”

Shri L.K. Advani later clarified that his view that “Bharatiya Janata Party was not based on ideology but idealism” did not at all mean that the BJP was not an ideological Party.

The **Organiser** in its editorial on January 11, 1981, under the caption ‘BJP has arrived’ writes:

“The Bharatiya Janata Party’s first plenary session just concluded in Bombay, will do any party proud. It was so successful that even the country’s biggest paper, which normally delights in baiting the BJP, had to editorially record the impressive show and the memorable procession as clear signs of growing influence and a notable political event.

Not that there was any lack of leg-pullers. Some of them read sinister meanings in Nana Deshmukh preferring to be more active in rural development than in politics. Others saw the party divided over Gandhian Socialism. But all these alarums and excursions stood, exposed for what they were, when a session attended by 55,000 delegates adopted the political resolution with only five hands raised against and the economic resolution, with all hands raised in favour.

Nor did the movers of these resolutions hesitate to accept good amendments from the floor. The whole thing was an essay in a harmonious blending of democracy and discipline. And a party that can practise both, democracy and discipline, could well be trusted to practise the two virtues in the governance of the country, as and

when it is entrusted with the administration of the country.

Some wizards are wondering what BJP means by Gandhian Socialism and moan that Socialism and Secularism are pretty imprecise terms. They sure are; but they are not imprecise for BJP alone. What is more, the people know full well what BJP means by these terms.

The BJP is opposed to a 'Socialism' which means statism plus huge profits in the private sector and huge losses in the public sector. But it is all for a socialism that will increase employment, protect wages, control prices and take care of the poor and the oppressed with a Rs. 500 crores a year 'Daridra Narayan National Fund.'

Likewise, it is opposed to a secularism that will ridicule religion or appease communalism. But it is all for a secularism that will respect all religions and do '*Insaf*' (Justice) to all castes and communities.

Nor need anybody be surprised by BJP's adoption of Gandhian Socialism. Gandhi was not a socialist and socialists are not Gandhian. But a marriage of these two concepts could convey the sense of humanity of the one and that of equity of the other. It is an attempt at humanising socialism and making Gandhi intelligible to the modern mind.

That the attempt should have come from BJP, is singularly apt; for no other party is as close to Gandhian thought as BJP. The Gandhian philosophy of '*Swadeshi*' and '*Swabhasa*', '*Satya*' and '*Ahimsa*', '*Daridra Narayan*' and '*Rama Rajya*' strike a very responsive note in every Bharatiya Janata heart.

The quiet confidence with which BJP has organised itself will evoke the admiration of friend and foe alike. In a brief period of eight months, the party has enrolled 25 lakh members—the Jana Sangh never had more than 12 lakhs—and it proposes to enroll 25 lakhs more in the next four months. This is quite a record for any party for Congress has long specialised in bogus membership and Janata made an issue of dual membership without enrolling a single member.

The party President's call for '*Sangthan*', '*Sangharsh*' and '*Samarchana*'—'*Organisation*' '*Struggle*' and '*Constructive Work*' is a complete guide to party workers.

In a clarion call, Shri Vajpayee has warned the country against

the dual dangers of lawlessness and dictatorship, and pledged the party to both, 'Bread and Liberty.' The whole country will view the party's progress with hope and prayer.

Indeed, within months of its formation, BJP has already become something more than Bharatiya Janata Party; it has become an epitome of Bharatiya Janata, the Indian people. In the words of the Grand Old man of India, Shri Chagla, "Bharatiya Janata Party has completely established its credentials as the alternative that can replace the present Government."

A large number of foreign correspondents also came to the BJP's Convention and took keen interest in its proceedings. **The Overseas Times**, New York, dated January 9, 1981 published the following account of the Convention under the Caption 'Centrist BJP Matures':

"In the Aftermath of the last general elections, when Mrs. Gandhi was swept into power by an overwhelming majority, only one opposition party called the Bharatiya Janata Party, a remnant of the former ruling party Janata, has been able to make its presence felt in the Indian politics.

This was clearly evident last week when the BJP held its annual session in Bombay. The attendance of more than 44,000 delegates and a huge rally at Shivaji Park were clear signs of the growing influence of the party. In addition the party showed that not only has it escaped the paralysis, increasingly pronounced among other units of the original Janata alliance, but it has, in fact, expanded considerably in terms of its political appeal.

Cohesion and discipline, characteristic of the defunct Jana Sangh, from which BJP derives its cadre, are qualities that have been retained even after its transformation into BJP. It is both noteworthy and commendable that the BJP has a total membership of 2.5 million, as claimed by its Chairman Atal Bihari Vajpayee, while the Jana Sangh's never exceeded 1.2 million. He mentioned this in support of his claim that the party he now leads is neither a revival nor a new manifestation of the Sangh.

But surely Vajpayee would not deny that the Sangh provided, and remains, its nucleus; nor can he ignore the views sometimes at variance with those of the present BJP leadership, of the traditionalists in the old Sangh or of their Rashtriya Swayam Sevak

Sangh (RSS) mentors.

Significantly, however, differences didn't prevent him, and others of similar persuasion, from getting the Bombay conference to endorse their views, suggesting more a personal and group victory than a pervasive change of outlook. There was an attempt on their part to live down the Jana Sangh's reputation as a communal party as well as a party of the trading class.

But it will be wrong to dismiss all these shifts as no more than tactical manoeuvres. There is no doubt that the experience of sharing power at the Centre in the 1977-79 period gave Vajpayee and his colleagues a more mature understanding of the complex issues facing the country.

BJP, which emerged as the party of the future after this conference, needs a clearer definition of its new image. But it cannot be attempted so long as variety of contradictions, mostly arising from the past, remain unresolved.

What the party clearly needs is an identity through a process of mutual adjustment and understanding. Gandhian Socialism, that it professes, is a concept that admits of different interpretations; its identification with Jayaprakash Narayan's ideas can be a source of further confusion. Decentralisation is easy enough to accept, but ownership or distributive justice is a more difficult question.

But the party has openly opposed the trends represented by Mrs. Gandhi's rule. This is likely to be the main source of its strength as an effective alternative to Congress (I). There is no mistaking the party's self-confidence in building itself towards that goal.

Janardhan Thakur writing in **On Looker**, Jan 16, 1981 'Vajpayee—the Next PM', discusses 'BJP session' in Bombay:

"I have just returned from the BJP session in Bombay with one certainty: Atal Bihari Vajpayee will, sooner or later, become the country's Prime Minister. I am not saying he may, I am saying he will. Mine is not a prediction based on stars, for I am no astrologer. it's a prediction based on a close hard look at the man and his party. Vajpayee leads the party of the future. Both have blossomed.

A new spark has been lit. The Bombay session was a stunning success, far beyond the dreams of its organisers. Simply to be good organisers is not enough. You can lead a horse to the pond, you cannot force him. The session was far more than a mere gathering

of 55,000 delegates. It made even outsiders sit up. Coming at a time when political parties and politicians are fast becoming irrelevant, even butts of joke, this was a startling display. Even the timing was very apt. On display was a force which had the potential to ring out the old and ring in the new.

The session was in fact a notice served on Mrs. Gandhi that she could not go on ruling by default for very long, that she could no longer continue to make a political capital out of the much-publicised lack of alternative to her. A powerful contender had arrived. For once there was a credible leader who could symbolise the hopes and aspirations of the people. What is more, he had strength behind him, the powerful thrust of a cohesive organisation which had broken through its limiting shell. Already its growth was astounding, even to those who had given birth to it. It had touched unexpected chords, roused hopes in distant hearts. In the words of M.C. Chagla, the Samta Nagar session was “Bombay’s answer to Indira” Vajpayee strode the session like a colossus. There were observers who saw it as the ‘selling’ of a leader. If so, the buyers were all too many. The leader had even charisma. That’s a dangerous thing, but mercifully it was a charisma of a different sort. Not one-born out of awe and fear, but one that comes from respect and admiration and trust.

This was not a party which would rise or fall with one man. Behind Vajpayee was the solid pillar of L.K. Advani. If Vajpayee was at times given to flights of poetic fancy, there was always Advani to add a bit of steely realism, a dose of pragmatism to the policies and programmes. Between the two, they touched both the hearts and the minds. A perfect complement to each other.

Many will refuse to see the powerful impact that the Bharatiya Janata Party has already made. Specially a class of intellectuals and so-called intellectuals who have got used to enjoying the prestige — of the left and the privileges of the right. They are bound to pooh-pooh the session, debunk the new party as the same old Jana Sangh. or even as the ‘new *Avatar* of the RSS.’ They would only be deluding themselves, like ostriches with their heads in the sand.

Isn’t it about time that they showed some courage and honesty to see truth as truth? Parrot-like they have been spewing accusations and hate words broadcast by the double-faced rulers of this country, and in the process become mere trumpeters of a party

so aptly described by Chagla as one of “hypocrites, opportunists and sycophants”. Many will call him senile. They will again be deluding themselves. He may be infirm in body, but not in mind. Even at 80, Chagla’s clarity, his ability to rip through the thick curtain of falsehood would put them to utter shame. He has the honesty, the courage to challenge lies. He has the honesty, the courage to challenge lies. He has no expectations. In our state of utter intellectual dishonesty, born out of corroding self-interests, Chagla-is like a beacon light.

Chagla is not an ‘insider’ and yet he makes no bones about being an admirer of what the BJP and its leadership stand for. He has no hesitation in acknowledging Vajpayee as “one of the finest men in India today”, as “one of the finest Foreign Ministers India has ever had”, as one who would rightfully emerge as the country’s Prime Minister. When he says the BJP has established its credentials as the only real Opposition party in the country with the potential to replace the present rulers, it is like the verdict of a judge who has nobody between him and God.

Why was he an admirer of the new party? Chagla spelt it out in clear terms. He admired it because of its discipline, dedication, honesty, principles – Discipline was there for all to see. The organisers of the session thought they were being very optimistic when they arranged for 25,000 delegates. They had done a wonderful job, but they were overwhelmed by the actual number that turned up. They feared everything would fall apart as it definitely would have if it had been a Congress show. It would have ended in bedlam.

That’s a discipline inculcated by the RSS, the critics would immediately say. Perhaps it is, but if discipline is a trait of fanatic Hindus that is not good enough reason to become in-disciplined.

That the BJP is close to the RSS, that it has lots of people in it who were formerly in the Jana Sangh is hardly news. Nor are these going to be reasons enough in the times to come to keep them back. The party will rise or fall on what they do now and in the future, not on what some of its elements thought or did in the past. What makes the BJP a new centre of hope is that it appears to be building a new organisation on solid foundations. It is no longer content with being a party of the Hindu belt, a party which caters to only sectional urges in the country. If the old Jana Sangh was largely urban oriented,

a party of shopkeepers and banias as it critics said the new BJP is totally different in its composition and make-up.

For over three decades the rulers of the country have sworn by Gandhian Socialism. They have come up with all manner of catchwords and slogans to show how wedded they are to the objective of banishing poverty from the country. But in reality they have not only never given a trial to Gandhian Socialism, they have in fact stood Gandhi on his head. They forgot the basic tenet of Gandhi. They forgot about the means even more than about the ends.

What gives the BJP hope is that its leadership is aware of the right priorities and has shown the capacity to carry the party with it. A long struggle may be ahead of them, but only through the fire of struggle can this country emerge in its true greatness.

Shri S. Nihal Singh in an article 'A Ray of Hope' in **India Today**, January 16, 1981 said:

"The country is in search of an alternative party to Mrs. Gandhi's mixture as before-give or take a few. And the BJP very consciously set about staking its claim to the title. It has a long way to go, and it is not even certain that it will ever make it. But the aplomb with which Atal Bihari Vajpayee presided over the Bombay gathering of the faithful and friends has at least given it a head start.

In the Indian order of things there must first be a credible leader and then a credible party. Vajpayee looks like fulfilling the first condition. Of all the most opposition leaders, he is the most plausible as a shadow Prime Minister having had a reasonably successful stint as Foreign Minister. Besides, he knows how to pull at the heart strings of the Indian people, at least in Hindi.

Vajpayee's problem is that his party does not fulfil the second condition, although by the prevailing standards in Indian politics, many members of the BJP are men of rectitude. It is at once the strength and weakness of the BJP members that the discipline that has prevented them from being weathercocks in the game of politics is the discipline of the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS), which remains unacceptable nationally.

The BJP has also decided to live with another fact of Indian political life, a process that began with the original Jana Sangh. Power lies somewhere near the centre of the political spectrum, and in Bombay, the BJP positioned itself to the right of centre by adopting

the slogan of 'Gandhian Socialism'. The party's economic resolution was, indeed, all things to nearly all men.

Indirectly, the BJP was accepting a hoary rule of Indian politics. The communists notwithstanding, the ambit of choices lies between Gandhism and Nehruism. The Indian dilemma is that ideological issues cannot be pinpointed. The net has to be sufficiently copious to take in people of various persuasions. You can be left, but not too left; right, but not too right. Ideological issues must, therefore, be judged, rather than clarified, socialist rhetoric apart.

'Gandhian Socialism' as a slogan is as elastic as the 'socialistic pattern of society', or Mrs. Gandhi's radicalism. It can clothe the conservative sentiments of some of the BJP members-although some did protest about the word 'Socialism' as it can be more egalitarian than tastes of others.

Whatever be the future of the BJP-it seems all set to extend its influence and of Vajpayee, who has the attributes of a Prime Minister, the party's Bombay convention is to be welcomed for presaging a saner phase in Indian politics.

The BJP's first national convention was thus a great success and aroused lot of enthusiasm, public support and expectations in the country. About 50,000 delegates from different parts of the country attended. The number far exceeded the estimate of the organisers. In spite of this there was no confusion and the session was conducted in an orderly manner. This was possible due to the organisational capacity, dedication and discipline of the workers. Atal Bihari Vajpayee was taken in a procession which was very long and impressive. Two public meetings were also held during the period of the convention. These were largely attended and evoked great response both from delegates and the general public of Bombay. Eminent persons unconnected with BJP such as Justice J.C. Shah and M.C. Chagla, an eminent jurist veteran statesman and patriarch, attended the convention. Shri Chagla also addressed the Conference. Important business was transacted at the Conference after full discussion and participation. The document 'Our Five Commitments, 'Economic Policy Statements' and the Party Constitution were approved. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee's presidential address was well-received. The party was considered as an alternative to Congress and Atal Bihari Vajpayee was hailed

as the future Prime Minister of the country.

The period from 1980-84 saw the growth of the party and the spread of the organisation from villages to the National level. The party participated in 1980 Assembly Election held after the formation of BJP. The verdict of these Assembly elections was essentially the extension of the Lok Sabha Election results of 1980 held before the formation of BJP. Like the Lok Sabha verdict, the Assembly verdict too was a negative vote than any positive endorsement of the Congress-I. The emergence of the BJP had no doubt aroused a new enthusiasm but to convert this enthusiasm into an enduring political base required some time. Mini General Elections for Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Kerala and West Bengal were held in March 1982. BJP recorded remarkable success in the Assembly elections of Himachal Pradesh and in the bye-elections of Thane and Jabalpur. In 1983 in the context of the speculations of mid-term Lok Sabha Poll Vajpayee appealed to all parties subscribing to national unity and democracy to come together in the form of a National Democratic Front. This experiment also did not succeed. The performance of party in the Assembly elections and Lok Sabha Elections 1984 was not satisfactory.

Addressing the meeting of the National Executive held on 15-17 March, 1985 Vajpayee in his presidential address said:

“As the President of the party I take full moral responsibility on myself for the failure of our party in the Assembly and Lok Sabha elections, and I shall be gladly willing to undergo any punishment that the party decides.

But I would like that the party should make up its mind fully on fundamental questions.

Firstly, is the party's defeat because our decisions to merge Jana Sangh with Janata Party in 1977 and to withdraw from the Janata Party in 1980, were wrong ?

Secondly, should BJP go back and revive the Bharatiya Jana Sangh ?

BJP has chosen the middle path between the two extremes of merger and going alone. We have adopted the curse of co-operation with democratic and nationalist parties, while maintaining our separate identity. Has the policy been proved to be wrong and is it

necessary to change it ?

We should also decide whether there is a contradiction between continuing to widen the base of the party and making the party organisation stronger, disciplined and dynamic.

In the BJP session held in 1980 at Bombay, it was felt that BJP should be developed as an alternative to the Congress (I). But, today after five years, we find ourselves miles away from that objective. From the point of view of Parliament our party has reached its 1952 position. In respect of the Assemblies, our position is not much better than that of 1980. Even if it is accepted that the elections in 1984-85 were held in extraordinary circumstances which were beyond any one's control, this does not explain all the causes of our defeat. It is true that as compared to other Opposition parties, our party does not have a base in any particular caste, religion or region. Our base is the entire country and the Indian society. When the Congress (I) made national unity and integrity the only issue of the election, naturally we were the greatest losers. But even then we should make an indepth study of the causes of our failure and should adopt effective ways of removing our shortcomings and drawbacks.

In pursuance of the suggestion of the party president the National Executive in its meeting on April 6, 1985, set up a Working Group to review the party's functioning, achievements and shortcomings and to recommend correctives. The Group was also asked to draw up a five-year 'Plan of Action' on all fronts-organisational, agitational, constructive and electoral, which can galvanise the party and make it an effective instrument of political and socio-economic change".

In its report, the Group first dealt with two questions raised by Shri Vajpayee:

(1) "Whether 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 was of the view that these two questions need to be clarified at the very outset. The Working Group pointed out that:

The history of the formation of Bharatiya Jana Sangh under the inspiring leadership of late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji in

1951 is well-known. The mantle of guiding the course of the party fell upon Pt. Deendayalji after Dr. Mukherji'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-month 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 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 at 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 delegate's 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 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 have benefited by our experience

when we were in the Janata Party and that we will march ahead by building up BJP, towards our cherished objectives.”

After analysing the achievement of the party during the first five years the Working Group recommended the philosophy and the objectives of the party. The report of the Working Group was considered by the National Executive of BJP in its meeting dated 9.10.1985 at Gandhi Nagar and by the National Council in its meeting held on 11th October, 1985. The National Council adopted the following resolution:

The National Council hereby resolves:

- (a) That Integral Humanism, propounded by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, 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 Socialism
 - (iv) Positive Secularism, that more is, *Sarva Dharma Sama 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.

Thus, in this resolution the basic philosophy of BJP always inherent in the earlier resolutions was explicitly stated. This resolution made it clear that the 'Integral Humanism' propounded by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya shall be the basic philosophy of the party”

The period that followed 1985 to 1998 shall remain a landmark in the history of BJP. During this period BJP grew in strength and

emerged as an important pole in the politics of the country. The BJP-led National Democratic Alliance assumed power in 1998 under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee who remained Prime Minister for over six years till 2004. In this period, Shri L.K. Advani except for about two years from 1991-93 led-BJP as National President and infused new life in the organisation. A number of Morchas and cells were set up. Several *yatras* covering the country were organised and agitations launched on various issues of national interest. The growth of younger leadership was promoted. This infused a new life in the BJP and increased the base of the organisation not only in term of different parts of the country but also in term of different sections of the society.

After assassination of Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister. In 1984, General Elections to Lok Sabha held in the wake of tragic events Congress secured the largest majority since Independence getting 442 seats. Rajiv Gandhi, thus, started with a massive mandate to rule. He was projected as a new *Messiah*, who would sweep clean all that was foul and filthy in the past.

This illusion, however, vanished and the expectations of the people cruelly frustrated. Rajiv Gandhi was unable to grapple with National Problems piling up before the country. His Government was elected principally on the issue of national unity, but never before the national unity had been under such grave peril as during his period. Five of the seven states and union territories in the north-eastern region of the country came in the grip of rebel groups determined to tear the country apart. These groups floated the idea of setting an autonomous state comprising the terrain between Brahmaputra and Chindwri (Burma) rivers comprising Nagaland, Manipur, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, tribal dominated areas of Tripura, some areas of Assam and the entire 'Chittagong Hill' tracts of Bangladesh. Communal tension also started building up all over the country. Infiltration across the border in Assam continued, law and order situation deteriorated through out the length and breadth of the country. Private armies and armed gangs started sprouting all over, parts of Bihar and UP became areas of total lawlessness. Democratic institutions of the country such as Presidency, Press, fiscal decisions were deliberately debilitated corruptions reached an all time high. While industrial houses were raided, politicians amassed

vast fortunes by black-mail, commissions and kick-backs. Series of scandals like Bofors, HDW Submarines, West land helicopters, Churhat Lottery scandal came to light, Bhopal gas tragedy took place killing 35,00 persons and disabling lakhs of people by poisonous gas leakage followed by the shocking 'Bhopal Sell Off' by the Congress Government allowing multinational Union Carbide to go scot-free from criminal liability. The pre-eminently just and sensible verdict of the Supreme Court in Shah Bano's Case was up-turned by Rajiv Gandhi Government to placate communal elements. A minister of the Central Government Z.R. Ansari denounced the Supreme Court judgement and also the judges, who pronounced it on the floor of the Parliament. Attempts to cover up corruption cases and scuttle investigations further exposed the Government. Then there was the misadventure in Sri Lanka.

BJP played an active role in exposing the Government and safeguarding the National Interest. The BJP also issued a 50-point charge sheet of the follies and failures of Rajiv Gandhi and demanded proper investigations in Bofors and other corruption cases.

Six Morchas were set up, namely Mahila Morcha, Yuva Morcha, Scheduled Caste Morcha, Scheduled Tribes Morcha, *Kisan* Morcha and Minority Morcha both at the national level and State level. These Morcha's articulated the problems of their respective fields, helped in policy formulation and in mobilising in the field. They also launched movements and agitations from time to time to ventilate the problems and grievances of the sections they represented. They also helped in spreading the message philosophy of BJP in their respective fields. Besides the morchas a number of cells were also set up to deal with different activities and problems, such as External Affairs, Defence Economics, Ex-servicemen, Labour, Panchayats, Cultural, Fishermen's Slum Dwellers, Traders, Non Governmental Organisations, Industry, Doctors, Chartered Accountants, Overseas Friends of BJP, Urban Local Bodies and others. These Cells were manned by professionals and included persons well-versed with problems/activities relating to the Cells.

Thus through Morchas and Cells an attempt was made to reach different sections and to deal with different set of activities and problems in a comprehensive manner.

BJP under the leadership of Shri L.K. Advani also encouraged

younger persons to assume leadership responsibilities in the organisation both at the National and State level.

A number of young leaders such as Venkaiah Naidu, Kalyan Singh, Narendra Modi, Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi, Sushil Kumar Modi, Pramod Mahajan, Sushma Swaraj, Anant Kumar, Babu Lal Marandi, Rajnath Singh, Arun Jaitley, Mridula Sinha, Uma Bharti, Maya Singh, Ravi Shankar Prasad and many others were assigned important responsibilities in the organisation.

In June 1989, the meeting of the National Executive held at Palampur passed a resolution on *Rama-Janmabhumi* drawing attention of the country to the then current debate on the *Rama-Janmabhumi* issue, which had highlighted the callous unconcern which the Congress Party in particular and other political parties in general betrayed towards the sentiments of the overwhelming majority in the country.

In this resolution, the BJP traced the history of the issue:

“According to all available records, the Mughal Emperor Babar visited Ayodhya in 1528, destroyed the temple situated at the site believed to be *Rama-Janmasthan*, and constructed a mosque in its place. Ever since, Hindus have been longing to see the resuscitation of the temple at the site which they hold as extremely sacred. During the 1857 war of Independence, the Muslims responding to the sentiments of the Hindus had accepted their claim over the *Ram-Janmasthan*, but the vile Britishers in pursuance of their policy of divide and rule scuttled the settlement. Though efforts have been continuing to persuade Muslims to respect the feelings of the Hindus and abandon their claim to the site, this site has also been subject matter of prolonged litigation.”

Slandorous Propaganda

Lately, the Congress Government has unleashed a virulent campaign against the BJP and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, which has been representing the Hindu point of view in the negotiations with Government, alleging that while other sections of opinion have accepted reference of the dispute to the Allahabad High Court, the BJP and the VHP are unwilling to abide by a judicial verdict in this case. This propaganda is slanderous, and is based on a total misrepresentation of facts.

Court of Law cannot solve this problem

The BJP holds that the nature of this controversy is such that it just cannot be sorted out by a court of law. A court of law can settle issues of title, trespass, possession etc. But it cannot adjudicate as to whether Babar did actually invade Ayodhya, destroyed a temple and built a mosque in its place. Even where a court does pronounce on such facts, it cannot suggest remedies to undo the vandalism of history. As far back as 1885, a British Judge Col. F.E.A. Chamier, disposing of a civil appeal relating to the site, observed in a helpless vein:

“It is most unfortunate that a Masjid should have been built on land specially held sacred by the Hindus, but as that occurred 356 years ago, it is too late to remedy the grievance...”

(Dated 18th March, 1886 Civil Appeal No. 27 of 1885 District Court, Faizabad.)

In this context, it should not be forgotten that the present turmoil itself stems from two court decisions, one of 1951 and the second of 1986.

On March 3, 1951, in Gopal Singh Visharad versus Zahur Ahmad and others, the Civil Judge, Faizabad observed, *inter alia*:

“...at least from 1936 onwards the Muslims have neither used the site as a mosque nor offered prayers there, and that the Hindus have been performing their Puja etc. on the disputed site.”

Then on 1st February, 1986, District Judge Faizabad referred to this 1951 order and directed that as “for the last 35 years Hindus have (had) an unrestricted right of worship” at the place, the locks put on two gates in 1951 on grounds of law and order should be removed. (Civil Appeal No. 6/1986)

Example of Somnath Temple

The 1951 order had provoked little reaction. Till then, secularism had not yet become a euphemism for Hindu baiting, as it has become today. It is noteworthy that around this very time the Government of India, under the leadership of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, and with the blessings of Gandhiji, had itself decided to undo a similar act of vandalism, and to restore the great Somnath Temple at Prabhas Patan (Gujarat) .

When the Archaeological Department suggested that the site be declared a protected monument (these days a similar suggestion is

being canvassed in respect of *Rama-Janmabhumi* also), Home Minister Sardar Patel put it on record in the official files:

“The Hindu sentiment in regard to this temple is both strong and widespread. In the present conditions it is unlikely that sentiment will be satisfied by mere restoration of the temple, or by prolonging its life. The restoration of the idol would be a point of honour and sentiment with the Hindu public.”

“When the *Jyotirling* was formally installed at Somnath, the country’s Rashtrapati, Dr. Rajendra Prasad participated in the ceremony.”

“In this resolution, the National Executive of BJP called upon the Government to adopt the same positive approach in respect of Ayodhya that the Nehru Government did with regard to Somnath. The sentiments of the people must be respected and *Rama-Janmasthan* handed over to the Hindus if possible through a negotiated settlement or else by legislation. Litigation was certainly no answer.”

There was no positive response by the Government in this regard.

The manner in which Rajiv Gandhi’s Government functioned the corruption, scandals and attempt to cover these caused deep disillusionment and intense anger.

In the case of Shahbano the judgement of the Supreme Court was first welcomed but later on the Constitution was amended to reverse this judgement. This wounded the psyche of the Hindus. The challenge to the integrity and solidarity of the country in Kashmir and Punjab also agitated the Hindu mind. The politics of vote pursued by the Congress and the Leftist parties made adverse impact on them.

These found expression in the Lok Sabha General Election of 1989. The Congress led by Rajiv Gandhi secured only 197 seats with 39.53 per cent votes as against 442 seats and 49.10 per cent of votes secured by in it 1984 Lok Sabha General Elections. The BJP secured 85 seats and 11.36 per cent of votes as against 4 seats and 7.4 per cent of votes in 1984. Thus in five years from 1984 to 1989 BJP strengthened its position in the politics of the country and emerged as an important pole. Janata Dal secured 143 seats and the Communist Party Marxist got 33 seats while CPI secured 12 seats. Thus, the Congress got defeated in 1989 General Elections but the National Front, which included Janata Dal failed to get a clear majority in the

House. The Bharatiya Janata Party and the Communists decided to extend support to it from outside without joining the Government. On this basis, the President invited Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh to form the Government. If in 1984, the Indira wave had given Congress a massive majority in the House, in 1989 the anti-corruption wave, of which Bofors was a symbol, forced the Congress to lick the dust.

In the elections the non-Congress parties had promised the people that they would not repeat the history of 1979 and this time they will work together. The people had voted on this trust. But the National Front, especially the Janata Dal failed to maintain its unity. The mutual distrust, which developed on the very first day, eventually led to the collapse of the Government itself. The disgraceful history of 1979 was repeated in spite of the assurances given to the contrary. The Congress by extending its support to the group, which separated from Janata Dal under the leadership of Shri Chandrashekhar, ruined the second historical experiment of a non-Congress Government at the Centre. But for this non-Congress leaders were more responsible than the Congress. Like 1979 this time too the rift in the Janata Dal did not occur on any question of principle or matter of policy. The infinite lust for power was alone responsible for the rift in the party. The recommendations of the Mandal Commission were used as a weapon to give an ideological twist to this rift. Even this was done in a hasty and clumsy way. The parties supporting the Government were neither taken into confidence nor any effort was made to create within the country a favourable opinion especially among the younger generation. Had it been announced on day one that along with social and educational backwardness economic backwardness will also form one of the criteria and some posts will be reserved for the younger people of the so called forward classes keeping in view their economic condition, the anti-reservation movement would not have taken such a violent turn. The younger generation suspected that the announcement to give 27 per cent reservation to the backward classes was not motivated by any sense of social justice but was guided by the sole desire to remain in power.

The issue of reservation is very sensitive. It needs to be tackled with great caution. The maintaining of a balance between the declining number of employment opportunities and the rising

aspirations of the younger people demands a wisdom of a very high order. The problem cannot be satisfactorily solved either by fanning the caste prejudices or by linking this question to the politics of vote. While on one side among the younger generation of the backward classes a feeling of resentment is gradually growing against the social injustices, on the other the younger people of forward classes are fast losing patience. A solution should be found only on the basis of a national consensus on this question. But the Janata Dal, torn by its internal dissensions, had become so much entangled on this issue that not only its Government fell, but also the question of reservation remained unsolved.

Because of the internal strife of Janata Dal and its policy to give more weightage to the leftist parties than what their strength warranted, the question of Ayodhya instead of getting solved became more complicated. It is in this context that Shri Advani announced *Rath-Yatra*. The objective of Shri Advani's *Rath-Yatra* was not to bring down the then Government. It was undertaken with the sole aim to mobilise wider national support in favour of the reconstruction of the Shri Rama Temple. It did succeed in this aim. As the *Rath* rolled on, it became increasingly clear that the question of building a Rama Temple deeply touches the emotional cords of the majority community. During the past 40 years rule of, the Congress the policies and programmes adopted by it in the name of secularism have, rightly or wrongly, left an impression on the minds of the Hindus that they are not being treated well.

Shri L.K. Advani announced his plan for a 10,000 km *Rath-Yatra* from Somnath to Ayodhya starting on September 25, 1990 and reaching Ayodhya on October 30, 1990 to join the *Kar Seva*. The *Rath-Yatra* received tumultuous response everywhere and completely turned the national debate on the scope and content of secularism that had been practised since Independence.

The *Rama Janmabhumi* Abhiyan picked up a momentum unseen in recent times. Speaking at a massive rally in Ahmedabad on September 26, Shri Advani said that the whole country would be reverberating with Rama by October end. At every public meeting he addressed, the BJP leader dared Shri V.P. Singh, Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav and Shri Rajiv Gandhi to stop his cavalcade. He asserted that the *Rama-Rath* was symbolic of the might and aspirations of 70

crore Hindus in the country. Obviously, Shri Advani was convinced that the fight in Ayodhya would settle the future of India.

Indeed, for the BJP, the fight for Ayodhya was more than a fight for the possession of the disputed land. It was a conscious and well thoughtout campaign to win the hearts of the majority community. "In this fight, I am ranged against all the other political parties in the country. The pseudo-secularists have done immense harm to Indian nationalism," declared Advani. He also did not mince words while criticising the political parties opposed to his ideology. The BJP, for sometime now, has been itching to join battle with the parties organising the anti-communalism rallies. And by pitting Rama against Babar, nationalism against casteism and secessionism, the BJP had been able to strike an emotional chord in the Indian psyche.

The reception to Shri Advani's *Rath-Yatra* surpassed the most optimistic calculations of even the organisers. The choice of Somnath on the western coast of Gujarat and the stress on the role of Sardar Patel in the reconstruction of the Shiva Temple there was significant. Shri Advani, along with his wife Kamala, performed *yagna* at the Somnath Temple before setting off on his 36-day 10,000 km long *Yatra*. Party Vice-Presidents Rajmata Vijayaraje Scindia and Shri Sikander Bakht, several BJP ministers, MP's and MLAs and a number of RSS and VHP leaders were present to flag him off. The priest of the temple presented him with a saffron *dharma dhwaja*, the fishermen from Dwarka presented him a conch with Sri Rama inscribed on it, the tribals of Ambaji offered a bow and arrow, while the Gohil Samaj the Kshatriya community gave him a golden sword.

Addressing a public meeting in the predominantly Muslim area of Imami Gate in the old walled Bhopal City Shri Advani said that he had already covered more than 4000 km of his 10,000 km long '*Rath-Yatra*', but had not uttered a word which could hurt the feelings of Muslims and others. Shri Advani also claimed that not a single riot or tension-related incident had occurred in the places he had visited since his Somnath Ayodhya *Sri Rama-Yatra* began on September 25. He further said that it was not Muslims who opposed his '*Rath-Yatra*' but UP Chief Minister Mulyam Singh Yadav also. Everywhere the *yatra* reached it received thunderous reception. Shri J.P. Mathur, All India Secretary, BJP said that "the BJP will go to any extent peacefully", to ensure construction of the Rama Temple

at Ayodhya. The BJP is not tied to any Kukarma (ill-deeds) of the National Front Government; it believed that the issue of construction of the Rama Temple was a national and not a political issue. We will go to any extent to see that the temple is constructed.

V.P. Singh began the devious game of splitting the Ayodhya movement and worked for a Sant mobilisation, minus the VHP and BJP. This move did not take off. On 19th October, 1990, the President issued an ordinance to acquire the disputed structure and land in Ayodhya. Within two days of the issue the Central Government decided to withdraw the take over ordinance. Shri L.K. Advani was arrested on 23rd October, 1990 in Samastipur and the *Rath-Yatra* was stopped. The whole country reacted with spontaneous *bandhs* on two days and indignation swept across the nation.

The BJP withdrew its support to Janata Party Government led by Shri V.P. Singh. Many leaders of Ayodhya movement were arrested. They included Prof. Rajendra Singh, V.H. Dalmia, Gumanmal Lodha, Mahant Avaidyanath and Swami Chinmayanand. Shri A.B. Vajpayee who was leading *Karsevaks* to Ayodhya was also arrested.

The '*Rath-Yatra*' had tremendous impact and was a landmark in the march of BJP to the Centre of the political stage of the country.

The *Rath-Yatra* helped in spreading the message of one ness, of cultural nationalism, of questioning the conventional wisdom of appeasement and minorityism. The *yatra* caught the imagination of the people and was a tremendous success. No other effort of political mobilisation had drawn such a popular response. The moral and revolutionary dimension of the *Rama Rath-Yatra* made it comparable to the salt-satyagrah or Dandi March of Gandhi in 1930. The *yatra* effectively drove home the point that if Rama represented the ideal of conduct, *Rama Rajya* represented the ideal of governance.

The awesome tide of nationalism unleashed by the *yatra* unnerved the pseudo-secularist. "*Jai Sri Ram*" became more than a traditional greeting it became a roaring endorsement of the BJP's view that secularism does not mean a rejection of our history and cultural heritage, the very foundations of this great nation.

The *Rath-Yatra* became the symbol of disenchantment of the Hindus. A solution would have been possible if instead of postponing Ayodhya issue Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh had made sincere efforts to solve it. But he allowed himself to be caught

by mutually contradictory pressures and refused to appreciate the acute feelings of the majority community. The Muslim voters had given the Janata Dal wide support. Muslim religious leaders too were, in large number, associated with it. Had the leadership of the Janata Dal tried to convince them about the wisdom of adopting a conciliatory attitude on this issue they would have surely succeeded in finding a solution. But it did not attempt any such thing. It kept itself busy with the equation of votes. It calculated that the minorities and the backward classes together constitute a large vote-bank on the strength of which elections can be won. But it did not cross its mind that the question of building a Ram Temple can also affect the backward classes and they could also vote differently.

After the withdrawal of support by BJP to Janata Dal Government led by Shri V.P. Singh, there occurred a rift in Janata Dal. Shri Chandrashekhar with a group of MP's of Janata Dal parted company.

Due to the rift in the Janata Dal the National Front Government fell on 7th November 1991. The Rashtrapati Bhawan turned into a centre of political activities. Shri Venkataraman started consultations with leaders of various political parties. The President was implored not to encourage switching of partly allegiance. But what was the alternative left to the President? If Janata Dal breaks and the Congress gives assurance of support to the break away group and on the strength of this support it stakes its claim to form the Government then what can the President do? The President invited Shri Chandrashekhar, leader of the breakway group to form the Government. Shri Chandrashekhar became the Prime Minister on 1st December, 1990.

It is a well-known fact that during the first week of November, 1990 when the fall of Janata Government was imminent and a faction of the Janata Dal was trying hard to form its Government on Congress support, the President Shri Venkataraman felt convinced of the necessity to install a National Government and even held informal discussions with the leaders of different political parties in this regard. He was deeply worried about the future of the country. How will the nation tide over the present crisis in the absence of an eluding political stability? BJP also expressed its agreement with this idea. The move did not proceed further because other parties were

not willing to opt for its. This time the main difficulty was not how to make the communists and BJP sit together. The relations between the Janata Dal and BJP had become embittered and the anti-Congress attitude of Janata Dal had also hardened.

Shri Chandrashekhar's Government did not last. It fell in March, 1991 and fresh elections to Tenth Lok Sabha were announced.

In the General Elections for Tenth Lok Sabha BJP secured 120 seats against 85 seats secured by it in 1989 elections to Ninth Lok Sabha. The Congress emerged as the largest party with 232 seats. Janata Dal got only 59 seats. In the midst of this election the tragic assassination of Rajiv Gandhi took place as a consequence of which the later phase of election was postponed by the Election Commission and held after a gap. These developments had also impact on the results of this Election. Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao became the Prime Minister of a minority Congress Government and BJP emerged as the main Opposition party. Shri L.K. Advani became the leader of the Opposition.

1991 was thus a major milestone in the history of BJP. As a result of '*Rath-Yatra*' and other activities of BJP the Indian polity got polarised between pseudo-secularism of the Congress and other parties and BJP's nationalism and new economic thought.

From 1991 to 1993, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi became the President of BJP. In 1991, the entire state of Jammu & Kashmir was engulfed by the flames of separatism and fundamentalist terrorism-fanned, aided and abetted by Pakistan. As many as three lakh pandits had fled the terror unleashed upon them in the valley, their ancestral land for centuries past, and sought shelter in camps, reduced to the status of refugees in their own country. Punjab's fields were soaked with the blood of innocent victims of separatist terror.

A weak Government at the Centre made the situation worse. There was neither direction nor purpose in the Government's actions, such as they were. At the behest of aggressive Pakistani activism at international fora and as a result of intrusive diplomacy by the West, India had become a nation under siege, both within and outside. A big question mark had come to hang over India's unity and integrity.

Shri Murli Manohar Joshi, who had just taken charge as party president, decided to embark on a *Yatra* – the message this time

would be the need to preserve our unity, our *ekta*, in the face of such adversity. The 47-day *yatra* was, thus, appropriately named *Ekta-Yatra*. It would carry this message from one part of the country to the other.

The *Ekta-Yatra* was flagged off from Kanyakumari on December 11, 1991. It was to conclude at Srinagar on January 26, 1992, with the hoisting of the the Tricolour at Lal Chowk, which was then witnessing a see-saw battle for control between the security forces and terrorists. Indeed, the Tricolour was being burned in an open act of defiance of the Indian state and as a rejection of India's national identity.

Kanyakumari revives memories of Swami Vivekananda, who passionately espoused the cause of cultural nationalism and restored pride in being a Hindu. He represented in many ways, the collective aspirations of an ancient nation whose identity had been ruthlessly suppressed by a series of conquerors from foreign shores. December 11 marked the birth anniversary of the nationalist Tamil poet, Subramanyam Bharati. It also marked the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur who had taken it upon himself to protect the Hindus of Kashmir from being persecuted by the Mughals and their subedars.

Lakhs of people greeted the *yatra* along its route. People volunteered to accompany the *yatris* on their arduous and dangerous mission. By the time it reached Delhi, the number of people wanting to accompany the *Ekta Rath* to Srinagar had become unmanageable. On January 25 a landslide, unfortunately, blocked Banihal Pass and the *yatra* was threatened with disruption. But a determined BJP leadership decided to fly down to Srinagar to hoist the Tricolour at the predetermined spot on the predetermined day – Republic Day, 1992. At the behest of the then Congress Government at the Centre, the State Administration tried to create obstacles. "It is not safe," they argued. "We cannot assure your security," they warned. "Please do not go," they pleaded.

The purpose was clear – to appease the anti-India sentiments of the separatists and their cohorts. But the BJP defeated this purpose. As did the gallant jawans of the Army and the BSF. Shri Joshi and other senior leaders flew down to Srinagar from Jammu and at the appointed hour, the noble mission was fulfilled. Had not Shri Joshi unfurled the Tricolour at Lal Chowk, the National Flag would not

have been hoisted anywhere in the valley that year. While the Prime Minister and his Ministers cowered behind the protective shield of the national capital, the then BJP President showed the courage to dare the terrorists in their own backyard.

In a sense, the *Ekta Yatra* marked the turning point in the battle against terrorism. Soon after, the security forces in Punjab broke the backbone of separatism while in Kashmir the *jawans*, launched a vigorous counter-offensive, knowing they were not alone in the sacred duty of protecting the country's honour and dignity, the nation's unity and integrity.

The '*Ekata Yatra*' became a subject matter of 'the hue and cry' in Lok Sabha on December 11, 1991 Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee said that "every party implements its programmes there is no reason to be excited over the Bharatiya Janata Party's national unity and integration programme." Shri Vajpayee asked: "Is it wrong to say that the entire country from Kashmir to Kanyakumari is one? Is it wrong to repeat the resolution that India cannot be allowed to be divided further at any cost? Our *yatra* is not against any class or community. I did not see any reason that it would create tension in any sphere....No riots had even occurred during Shri Advani's *yatra*." Dr. Joshi's *yatra* relates to Kashmir issue, to the country's unity and integrity and is not related to any particular community. "Is it objectionable" asked Shri Vajpayee, "to say that Kashmir is an integral part of India." A *yatra* related to the "unity and integrity of the country" also aroused hue and cry from parties opposed to BJP. The *yatra* had tremendous impact in the country and this was the cause of agitation of pseudo-secularists.

As a result of the *Ekta Yatra* for forty-five days, Kashmir became the subject of debate and discourse in the country; for the first time the state and what should be done about it became the topic of earnest deliberation all over. This was in itself an achievement of the first magnitude.

Backed by the Marxists and other assorted pseudo-secularists, the Rao Government introduced two draconian Bills in the Parliament Constitution 80th Amendment Bill and the Representation of People (Amendment) Bill - with the dual purpose of banning religion from public life as well as denying political space to the BJP. The underpinning of these proposed legislations, as in the past, was

minority appeasement and crass vote-bank politics. The BJP stalled the Bills in Parliament and the debate was deferred, although the Bills were not withdrawn.

The BJP's opposition was articulated by Shri Advani:

"We strongly object to religion being translated as dharma... for the average Indian, irrespective of whether he is a Hindu, or a Muslim or a Christian, his respective religion is for him an inspiration for righteous conduct. By ousting religion politics, we will only be weakening the moral base of public life... politics should be cleansed of adharma, not dharma. It should be rid of corruption and criminalisation, not of probity and integrity."

Through these Bills, the pseudo-secularists sought to achieve four principal objectives:

- Subvert the basic scheme of elections and allow pre-emptive disqualification.
- Provide constitutional legitimacy to banning organisations.
- Make the state irreligious rather than one which respects all religions equally.
- Allow the summary deregistration of political parties.

Once again Shri Advani took the lead in mobilising public opinion against these draconian, anti-democratic, anti-people measures. He planned a fourpronged *yatra*, to be led by senior leaders of the party. Thus was born the '*Janadesh-Yatra*' with the purpose of seeking the people's mandate against the two Bills.

The four *yatras* began on September 11, 1993 the birth anniversary of Swami Vivekananda, from four corners of the country. Shri. Advani himself led the *yatra* from Mysore; Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat from Jammu; Shri Murli Manohar Joshi from Porbandar; and Shri Kalyan Singh from Calcutta. Travelling through 14 states and two union territories, the *yatris* congregated at Bhopal on September 25 in a massive rally. The *Janadesh-Yatra* was a runaway success.

It was, by all accounts, an unprecedented programme of mass contact; a programme that took the debate on the 'Religion Bills' from the antiseptic drawing rooms of Delhi to the dusty villages of *Bharat*. Once again, while the BJP's detractors schemed and plotted in the national capital, the BJP

went to the nation's people.

Shri Advani had a tremendous response in Naxalite Telegana. Huge crowds greeted Shri Joshi in Ahmedabad. The tumultuous response to Shri Kalyan Singh in Calcutta prompted **The Indian Express** to headline its report: "Red City Turns Saffron", a report which acknowledged, "the city will perhaps never be the same again." In terrorism-affected Punjab, for the first time in a decade a political party had come out in such a big way: As crowds greeted Shri Shekhawat, officials thanked him, saying the *yatra* had helped revive the morale of the administration.

The Bills were never passed. Indeed, its proponents, clearly scared by the public rejection of their dubious move, could not summon the courage to initiate a debate. The adharmic move of the pseudo-secularists was one again defeated by the forces of dharma. The evocative theme of the *Janadesh-Yatra*, "*Loktantra Rakshanaye, Dharmachakra Pravartanaye*", proved a winner.

These *yatras* and the Ayodhya movement precipitated a national debate on what is the content of Indian cultural nationalism and what is the true meaning of secularism as conceived by India's Constitution-makers versus pseudo-secularism.

The Bharatiya Janata Party believes that India is one country and that Indians are one people. But it also believes that the basis of India's oneness is its age-old culture. In '**Hind Swaraj**', Mahatma Gandhi wrote:

"The English have taught us that we were not one nation before and that it will require centuries before we become one nation. This is without foundation. We were one nation before they came to India. One thought inspired us. Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation they were able to establish one kingdom.

The nation in India is not the result of British rule or, for that matter of the freedom movement. Nor it is a product of the Constitution of India. In fact, the freedom movement itself was the manifestation of the national spirit that arose to fire the struggle for *swaraj*. The Constitution of India actually recognised an ancient nation that had existed for thousands of years in this land.

Thus, the oneness of India is on account of India's age old culture and heritage.

Hindutva has become convenient shorthand for this concept of cultural nationalism. *Hindutva* is not a mere slogan for BJP. It is the Bharatiya Janata Party's ideological mascot, the most distinctive feature of its identity and approach. It has been the hallmark of the party well before Ayodhya and will continue to be so even after a magnificent Rama Temple at the birth-place of Rama in Ayodhya becomes a fact of life.

The Bharatiya Janata Party also believes that Indian secularism has its roots in *Hidutva*. India is secular because it is essentially Hindu. Theocracy is alien to Hindu tradition and history.

That the basis of Indian nationalism is our age-old culture, has been acknowledged by numerous court pronouncements. Delivering judgment in Pradeep Jain vs. Union of India (1984), the Chief Justice P.N. Bhagwati and Justices Amarendra Nath Sen and Ranganath Mishra of the Supreme Court said:

"It is an interesting fact of history that India was forged into a nation neither on account of a common language nor on account of the continued existence of a single political regime over its territory, but on account of a common culture evolved over the centuries. It is cultural unity—something more fundamental and enduring than any other bond, which may unite the people of a country together, which has welded this country into a nation":

In an earlier study of Indian secularism (when sordid vote-bank politics had not yet enmeshed Indian political parties as it has done now), Donald Eugene Smith wrote: "... despite the composite nature of Indian culture, Hinduism remains by far the most powerful and pervasive element in the culture. Those who lay great stress on the composite nature of Indian culture frequently minimise this basic fact. Hinduism has indeed provided the essential genius of Indian culture."

Towards the end of 1995, the Supreme Court pronounced its judgement on *Hindutva* and vindicated BJP's ideological position that it is a cultural concept.

The Supreme Court has observed that it is wrong "to confine Hinduism or *Hindutva* to the narrow limits of religion alone." The judgement adds... "the term *Hindutva* is related more to the way of life of the people in the sub-continent." It is difficult to appreciate how in the face of these decisions the term *Hindutva* or Hinduism

per se, in the abstract can be assumed to mean and be equated with the narrow fundamentalist Hindu religious bigotry.

For nearly four decades since Independence the Indian politics was dominated by one single party—Congress Party. Elections were essentially a power struggle between the political haves and political have nots. Ideology was irrelevant to the confrontation. The BJP succeeded in adding an ideological dimension to the electoral contest. The *Rama Janmabhumi* agitation enabled BJP to focus on *Hindutva* as an effective alternative to pseudo-secularism. According to BJP genuine secularism means “justice for all, appeasement to none.”

Rao Government was marked by non-governance. In fact, it raised non-governance to such a fine art that Government became invisible. The result was widespread Chaos, rampant lawlessness, corruption at the highest level, and commission of gross illegalities and abuse of power for political purposes. It imposed ban on national organisations like RSS on flimsy grounds which was struck down by the court. There were a number of scandals.

The BJP held the Congress guilty of three grave charges:

- (a) Compromising national interests for the sake of petty electoral gains, and in the process endangering the country's security.
- (b) Compromising social interests for the sake of sordid political expediency, and thereby intensifying casteist and communal tensions.
- (c) Compromising economic interests of the masses in order to provide financial benefits to select few, leading to all round corruption.

As a consequence of the articulation of the misdeeds of the Congress Government and efforts at mobilisation of the public by BJP, disillusionment against the Government increased and people started looking towards BJP as an alternative. The image of Shri L.K. Advani had gone up and so had the stock of BJP. Faced with imminent defeat in the forthcoming Lok Sabha election in 1996 P.V. Narasimha Rao did what came to him naturally—he filed a false charge sheet on January 16, 1990 against Shri L.K. Advani in the

Hawala case. The devious, diabolic intention behind the framing of the BJP President was clear to all to hobble the Congress principal challenger, the Bharatiya Janata Party.

What Narasimha Rao did not reckon for was Shri Advani's whiplash reaction – he resigned his seat in the Lok Sabha and took a public vow not to enter Parliament till cleared of the patently concocted charges, which put him head and shoulders higher than all other politicians, and the resolute manner in which the entire party stood by its President, something which is alien to the non-BJP political culture.

Shri Advani decided to take the battle to the people and let the final masters of our democracy decide who was right and who was wrong. Once again, while others plotted and schemed and manoeuvred in Delhi, the BJP took the burning issue of the day, corruption, to the masses. Since 1996 marked 50 years of self-rule (the interim government headed by Nehru was installed in 1946) as well as the birth anniversary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, the theme for this *yatra*, named '*Suraj-Yatra*', was From '*Swaraj*' to *Suraj*'.

Explaining the purpose of the *yatra*, Shri Advani had then observed:

"*Delhi Chalo* (the slogan raised by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose) became an inspiring slogan for all patriots. *Delhi Chalo* at that time was a slogan aimed at *Swaraj*, Self-Government Though we have had *swaraj* for half a century, *suraj* has been eluding us. Let the BJP become an instrument to usher in *suraj*. Through this *Suraj-Yatra* we will take the BJP's message of *Suraksha*, *Shuchita*, *Samarasta* and *Swadeshi*, and its ideology of cultural nationalism (*Hindutva*) to the people."

And the message was indeed taken to the people. Starting from Ernakulum on March 9, 1996 Shri Advani traversed across the country, inspiring the lakhs of people who came out on the streets to greet him with his stirring exhortation to fight corruption, protect the country, strengthen social cohesion, adopt swadeshi and be proud of our cultural heritage. The indefatigable *yatri* travelled through the summer heat of the northern plains, spreading his message, establishing contact with the masses from early morning till late night. People braved the mid day sun to hear him. Crowds waited patiently at night, waiting to welcome Shri Advani, the pilgrim with

a cause, the leader with a vision and the traveller with a message.

The *Suraj-Yatra* was divided in two phases. The first phase ended in Delhi on March 23, 1996. The second phase began from Indore on April 14, 1996.

By the time the *yatra* ended at Lucknow on April 23, 1996 the objective had been achieved. It was amply clear that the Congress was set for a worst-ever, crushing defeat. When the votes were counted, the results showed that the people had registered their mandate for change, their endorsement of *suraj*, proving pseudo-secular Cassandras wrong, though not for the first or the last time! With the Delhi High Court quashing the fabricated charges, Shri Advani stood vindicated – both in the people’s court as well the courts of law.

In 1996, Eleventh Lok Sabha General Elections BJP secured 161 seats, INC secured only 140 seats, Janata Dal 46 seats, CPM 32 seats and CPI 9 seats.

BJP emerged as the largest party. The verdict of 1996 Elections was a mandate for Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee as against the leadership of Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao. Shri Vajpayee formed the Government as leader of the largest party in Parliament. This Government lasted only 13 days. After this Shri Deve Gowda formed a United Front Government comprising 13 parties and supported by Congress from outside. The United Front Government had to change Deve Gowda as leader at the dictates of Congress and Shri I.K. Gujral took over as Prime Minister of United Front Government. This Government also did not last. The United Front and Congress had forged a post-election unholy farce of an alliance to stop the BJP from continuing in power. The left played the most diabolical role during the one year and a half of United Front Government. CPI (M) proved that the Marxist habit of doublespeak and duplicitous politics die hard. In their pursuit of power without accountability for which they were willing to collaborate with anybody and compromise on anything, the Marxists demonstrated their true character as political Charlatans.

The 17 months of UF rule was no different from the Congress rule during Shri Narasimha Rao’s Government. The name of the Government changed but its character remained the same.

As the 50th anniversary of India’s Independence approached

there was complete apathy on the part of the Congress and the United Front Government. Both observed the Golden Jubilee year with a display of political immorality and infighting. The entire year from August 15, 1996 to August 15, 1997 which officially marked the Golden Jubilee of India's Independence showed loss of direction and dynamism. Instead of Government implementing programmes to celebrate this epochal event in a befitting manner the Government appeared more keen on celebrating United Front and its ally Congress's own marked power-lust, bankruptcy of ideology, utter lack of scruples, mutual back-stabbing and mutual grave-digging games. The sordid display of opportunist and manipulative power-politics of the rulers and their allies in New Delhi in this Golden Jubilee year under scored how badly they had betrayed the dreams of those who fought for freedom.

This gloomy scenario and official apathy towards the golden jubilee of India's independence prompted BJP as the only political party for whom nationalism was the very life breath of its existence and activity to launch the *Swarna Jayanti Rath-Yatra*.

Shri L.K. Advani, President of BJP undertook the *Swarna Jayanti Rath-Yatra* from August Kranti Maidan, Mumbai on 18th May, 1997. This *yatra* took 55 days and covered 15,000 km journey and passed through 19 states and one union territory. During the *yatra*, Shri Advani visited many places of historical significance.

This *yatra* was a medium of people's political education and mobilisation. Before he set out on his nationwide journey, Shri Advani had defined the objective of the *yatra* as follows:

- To rekindle the dimming flame of patriotism by paying homage to all our martyrs and freedom fighters, as also by recalling the proud pages of our glorious struggle for Independence;
- To take stock of the success, shortcomings and failures of the first 50 years of free India;
- To catalyze a serious debate on the important issues and problems facing the country today; and
- To project the BJP's vision for national reconstruction, with specific focus on transforming *Swaraj* (Self-governance) to *Suraj* (Good governance)

On May 18th, the *yatra* started from August Kranti Maidan, Mumbai. It was an appropriate venue for the kick-off of a nationwide journey to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of India's Independence. For here was sounded at the historic session of All India Congress Committee on August 8, 1942, the bugle of 'Quit India'. Meeting under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the session decided to launch the the 'final' phase of the freedom movement which, notwithstanding the arrest of all its top leaders the very next day, marked the beginning of the end of the British rule in India.

Shri Vajpayee, in his brief speech, said that Freedom's Golden Jubilee was an occasion for both celebration and honest introspection. Unfortunately, the Congress Party, which had played a leading role in the struggle for freedom, was interested in neither celebration nor introspection, but only in an opportunistic power-chase in the *Swarna Jayanti* year. The country had to pay a heavy price because of the policies and practices of the Congress and those parties which have ganged up with it, only in order to isolate an unstoppable BJP. Shri Vajpayee referred to the grave threat to India's unity, integrity and security posed by the developments in Kashmir and the North-East and urged the people to unitedly counter this danger.

Shri Advani began his speech by paying tributes to the great sons and daughters of Mumbai and Maharashtra whose *tapasya* was like the oil to the undying lamp that guided the freedom struggle. From Shivaji Maharaj to Tilak Maharaj, from Dadabhai Naoroji to Madame Cama, from Veer Savarkar to Babu Genu, and from Jyotiba Phule to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Maharashtra truly provided the impetus to many facets of the freedom movement, he said. His speech then set the theme of the *yatra*. "Mahatma Gandhi had given the call "Britishers, Quit India". The time has come for all of us to unitedly raise a similar battle-cry: "*Bhookh, Bharat Chhodo, Bhay, Bharat Chhodo, Bhrashtachar, Bharat Chhodo*. (Hunger, Fear and Corruption, Quit India)." In an incisive analysis of why these shameful maladies have continued to afflict India even after 50 years of freedom, he diagnosed the root cause to be the erosion of national identity and national values in the ruling political establishment – namely, the Congress and its allies.

The *yatra* evoked great response in the country.

Shri Advani addressed a crowded Press Conference in New

Delhi, the day after the completion of *yatra*. "It is for the people to assess what contribution the *Yatra* has made to contemporary national life, but, as far as I am concerned, I must record that it has been a highly educative and a deeply ennobling patriotic experience. Indeed, it has given me more satisfaction than any other previous campaign that I have participated in."

The BJP President was, thus, quite candid about what he gained from the *yatra*. But what did the party and the nation gain from it? In the same Press Conference, he listed six achievements:

The first achievement was projecting 'Cultural Nationalism' as India, true national identity and the dynamo of the national renaissance.

"The Bharatiya Janata Party is proud of having held aloft the banner of India's true national identity in the face of all the criticism and calumny by our adversaries. Our view on 'Cultural Nationalism' has not only received increasing popular acceptance but also, recently, a judicial seal in the form of an unambiguous judgement by the Supreme Court. The *Rama Rath-Yatra* of 1990, in support of the demand for construction of a mandir at *Rama-Janmabhumi* in Ayodhya, was our first attempt to present 'Cultural Nationalism' in the form of a *yatra*. Now, through the *Swarna Jayanti Rath-Yatra*, the BJP has once again conducted a massive mass education campaign on this issue, reminding the people that nationalism alone can strengthen India's unity and serve as a dynamo for her all-sided progress."

The second achievement of the *yatra* was presenting the legacy of the freedom movement in an undivided manner.

"The *Swarna Jayanti Rath-Yatra* commends itself not only by the scale on which it commemorated the Golden Jubilee of India's Independence, but also for its unique endeavour to present the glorious legacy of the freedom movement in an undivided manner. India's freedom movement was a confluence of a diverse set of struggles led by great men and women whose ideologies and strategies differed widely from – and, not infrequently, conflicted with – one another. Yet, they were all united by their common commitment to the cause of India's liberation and subsequent national renewal."

The third achievement of the *yatra* was catalysing a serious debate on major issues confronting the nation.

During the *Swarna Jayanti Rath-Yatra* “the BJP made an earnest attempt to present its viewpoint on a wide range of issues of both immediate importance as well as long-term relevance. These are: the need to root out corruption, especially in high places; the need to change the image of the “ugly Indian politician” by re-anchoring politics in the soil of ethics, idealism and professionalism; Constitution of a second States Reorganisation Commission for the purpose of creating smaller states with a view to achieving balanced development and more responsive, administration; restructuring of Centre-State relations; electoral and judicial reforms; economic development on the *Swadeshi* pattern with focus on the development of agriculture and employment; the need to consider both the public and private sectors as integral parts of the ‘national sector’ driven by the common goal of boosting efficiency, productivity and global competitiveness; the need to treat secessionism and terrorism in Kashmir, North-East and elsewhere as a proxy war, by Pakistan which must be dealt with a firm hand; measures to Counter hunger and malnutrition; and provision of better education at all levels.

Taken together, the views expressed on these and several other issues have underscored the fact that the BJP has a comprehensive plan for national reconstruction.

The fourth achievement of *yatra* was a quantum leap in the promotion of ‘Samajik Samarasata’ rooted in the philosophy of cultural nationalism.

The fifth achievement was creation of a massive nationwide awareness to combat corruption.

Unlike the previous *yatras* undertaken by the BJP, the *Swarna Jayanti Rath-Yatra* was not a single-issue exercise. It had a very wide canvas of concerns pertaining to India’s performance in the first fifty years of freedom. Nevertheless, if any single issue served to highlight the operative part of the Golden Jubilee message, it was the BJP’s call to combat corruption. Shri Advani repeatedly emphasised that, if the dreams of our martyrs and freedom fighters today lie shattered, the blame lies not so much with the *praja* (people) as with the *raja* (rulers). After the passing away of Pandit Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Congress leadership hastened the degeneration of polity

by, among other things, opening the floodgates of corruption. The malaise reached menacing proportions during the rule of Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao.

The central theme of the *Swarna Jayanti Rath-Yatra* was a call to the people to wage, and win the 'second freedom struggle', freedom from the bondage of *bhookh* (hunger), *bhay* (fear) and *bhrashtachar* (corruption). In each of his meetings Shri Advani underscored, however, the obvious truth that India cannot be freed from the curse of hunger and fear, unless she is first freed from the cancer of corruption. The massive response to his call further reinforced his belief that the people of India have, in the past 8-10 years, become increasingly unsparing in the electoral punishment they mete out to corrupt leaders and parties.

"Today at the conclusion of the *Swarna Jayanti Rath-Yatra*," pledged Shri Advani, "I would like to reiterate what I have stated several times during the past two months: the BJP, when voted to power, shall root out corruption at high places which will certainly have a salutary effect on the disease at the lower levels. We shall not hesitate to take the harshest of measures to fight this menace comprehensively."

The sixth achievement of the *yatra* was the stupendous response to the 3-point *Swarna Jayanti* pledge signals people's readiness to effect a two pronged transformation to make India a Great Nation.

The *Swarna Jayanti Rath-Yatra* earned tremendous good-will for the BJP, making a manifold addition to its existing mass support. Both on account of this positive gain, as well as the gain accruing from the negative developments in the Congress and UF camps, Shri Advani confidently affirmed: "If a Lok Sabha elections were held today the BJP and its allies would win a thumping majority so that Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee would be the country's Prime Minister for a full five-year term. As President of the party, I assure the nation that this change in leadership will go a long way in reversing the wrong policies and practices of the previous Governments and in bringing about much-needed reforms in the system of governance. The BJP Government will make no compromise with the four cancerous C's afflicting India's polity: corruption, criminalisation, casteism and communalism."

"I do not, however, wish to create any illusion among the

people that a mere change in leadership – necessary though it is will make India, a Great Nation. During the past five decades and especially after the mid-sixties, corruption and ethical degeneration have spread to each and every sphere of our social life. Steadily, both the rulers and the ruled came to believe that patriotism and discipline, which may have had their use during the freedom movement, are not needed anymore. In the absence of these uplifting values, the vacuum was filled up by selfishness, dishonesty and corruption in the daily lives of all of us. This decay cannot be cured by either legislation or governmental action.”

“As I sought to emphasize throughout the *Swarna Jayanti Rath Yatra*, what is needed is concerted corrective action by the people themselves. In order to generate and activise this awareness among the citizenry, I administered a 3-point *Swarna Jayanti* pledge, which was enthusiastically accepted by millions of people. The three commandments of the pledge are:

1. On the occasion of the *Swarna Jayanti* of India’s Independence, I resolve that I shall neither take nor give bribes.
2. On the occasion of the *Swarna Jayanti* of India’s Independence, I resolve that, in whatever profession I am engaged in, I shall work with honesty, dedication and discipline, In the spirit of a New Work Culture, I shall always give priority to my patriotic duty over my narrow self-interest.
3. On the occasion of the *Swarna Jayanti* of India’s, Independence, I resolve that, in whatever decisions I take in my life, I shall not discriminate on the basis of caste or creed but, instead, be guided solely by rational consideration and interests of my Motherland.”

“The BJP firmly believes that the above-mentioned two pronged transformation – change in the leadership and change in the mentality of the people – alone will help India emerge as a strong, prosperous and confident nation, regaining her predestined global glory. At the conclusion of the most ambitious and also the most successful mass-education campaign in the form of the *Swarna Jayanti Rath-Yatra*, my party rededicates itself to the first task of transformation, and calls upon all our dear compatriots to strive for the success of the latter mission. The 21st century,

which is barely two-and-a-half years away, is rightly predicted by learned historians and futurologists to be the Asian Century. Together, let us all toil ceaselessly to make it the Indian Century, which will be a fitting Tryst with Destiny so fervently hoped for by all the martyrs, fighters, poets and philosophers of the freedom movement.”

In conclusion, it can be proudly said that the *Swarna Jayanti Rath-Yatra* firmly established the BJP as the true inheritor of the legacy of India’s freedom movement and also as the chief architect of national reconstruction.

The Janata Dal Government headed by Shri I.K. Gujral was completely ineffective and was fully controlled by the Congress. The Congress was getting impatient to maneuver itself to power. It used the interim report of Justice M.C. Jain Commission appointed to inquire into the assassination of the former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to withdraw its support to United Front Government. The political crises forced mid-term election of Lok Sabha.

In the 1998, Lok Sabha General Elections for the 12th Lok Sabha the BJP secured 182 seats and with its allies formed the Government under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee as Prime Minister. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee was the first Prime Minister who did not have Congress background. This Government was defeated in a no-confidence vote and the country had to under go another General Election in 1999. BJP-led National Democratic Alliance returned with larger mandate in the 13th Lok Sabha. Shri Vajpayee was again sworn as Prime Minister. This Government lasted till 2004 Lok Sabha General Elections.

At the time the BJP-led Government of National Democratic Alliance was formed in 1998, the Indian economy was in a bad shape. The Government of Shri Narasimha Rao from 1991 to 1996 had made non-governance into an art. The two Governments of United Front of Shri Deve Gowda and Shri I.K. Gujral from 1996-98 were captive Governments of Congress and were not allowed to function. The main agenda of these Governments was to provide cover up and protection to Congress leaders and to keep BJP away from power.

The GDP growth in 1997-98 was 5.0 per cent. The average inflation rate was 4.8 per cent though the fiscal 1997-98 ended with inflation rate of 5.3 per cent. The Indian exports showed

deceleration in growth for the third year in succession. The imports had deceleration even more sharply. The trade deficit in 1997-98 was 3.9 per cent. The current account deficit was 0.6 per cent of GDP. The foreign exchange reserves at the end of 1998 were US \$26.0 billions.

The agricultural growth in 1997-98 was negative at 1.0 per cent. The food grain production increased annually by 3.22 per cent during fifties mainly because of expansion in food grains area. Sixties recorded a low annual growth rate of 1.72 per cent necessitating large-scale imports of food grains. Annual growth rate of 2.08 per cent was recorded during Seventies. An annual growth rate of 3.5 per cent was achieved in eighties on account of revolutionary changes in the seed technology that pushed up productivity levels first in wheat and later in rice in the eighties. Eighties is, thus, the hallmark of the green revolution that enabled India to become self-sufficient in food grains and even a marginal exporter. The decade of nineties could not maintain this pace and annual growth rate had fallen to 1.7 per cent, the lowest since Independence. There was urgent need to reverse this trend.

The public investment in agriculture declined in nineties. The public investment measured in terms of gross capital formation in agriculture which had been rising till 1970, decelerated during the eighties. The decline in public investment in agriculture was mainly due to the diversion of resources into current expenditure rather than on creation of assets.

Industrial growth had slowed down in 1997-98 primarily due to slackening in aggregate demand. Falling export, lower growth, decline in rural demand owing to low agriculture output, price competition from imports and slow take-off of actual investments in infrastructure projects contributed to this. On the supply side the factors, which affected the production, were; relatively low new investment by the corporate sector and the concomitant inventory build up, drying up of sources of funds due to sluggishness in capital market, and infrastructure bottleneck.

Based on the movement of wholesale prices, fiscal 1997-98 ended with a point-to-point inflation rate of 5.3 per cent and an annual average inflation rate of 4.8 per cent.

Thus, the position of economy on most fronts was in a bad shape.

A major area of concern was the persistence of high and unsustainable fiscal deficit, which posed a threat to macro-economic stability and growth through preemption of scarce financial resources on repayment of loan and interest obligations.

Along with the increase in gross fiscal deficit, revenue deficit had soared. Over the years revenue deficit as a percentage of gross fiscal deficit had risen from an average of about 32 per cent in 1985-86 to 1989-90 to 53 per cent in 1998-99. This trend was reflective of the fact that borrowings were increasingly being used to finance current expenditure. Capital expenditure which accounted for an average of one-third per cent of total expenditure in 1985-90 had declined to 22 per cent in 1998-99. Quite clearly, the prospects for accelerating economic growth depend crucially on the success in managing the fiscal challenge confronting the economy. The challenge could only be surmounted through hard decisions on many fronts.

The BJP led NDA Government after it assumed charge in 1998 embarked on policy changes and reforms in various sectors to put economy on rails and to promote growth with equity.

The first task of the Government was to identify and determine issues and priorities. The main issues confronting the economy were:

- (i) The need to tackle the high gross fiscal deficit of the Centre and State Governments together;
- (ii) Low savings and investment;
- (iii) High interest rates and reduced growth;
- (iv) Adverse pressures on inflation, financial markets and external sector.
- (v) Mounting interest payments leaving a declining share of Government expenditure available for essential functions such as defence, law and order, social services and public investment in infrastructure;
- (vi) Redefinition and narrowing of Government responsibilities to focus on primarily social sector;
- (vii) Systematic efforts to reduce subsidies by targeting these to the poorest segments of society;
- (viii) Disinvestments of commercial undertakings such as power utilities, transport undertakings and others;
- (ix) A concerted programme to deploy user charges for

- economic services rendered by Government;
- (x) Systematic induction of information technology tools and modern management practices to enhance efficiency of governance and resource generation;
 - (xi) Institutional reforms necessary to nurture modern-economic growth. This requires changes in legal and administrative structures, reform of legal system modernisation of laws, regulations and rules which govern and influence economic transactions;
 - (xii) Launching of effective public programmes for irrigation, agriculture and allied activities, agricultural research, rural credit;
 - (xiii) Ensuring larger investment in agriculture and rural development-promoting private investment in this sector;
 - (xiv) Bringing about reform of policies for agriculture trade, pricing and marketing to bring about rapid development of agriculture;
 - (xv) Removal of controls on agricultural exports and import controls;
 - (xvi) Giving priority to development of infrastructure including power, roads, ports, telecommunications and civil aviations;
 - (xvii) Providing dedicated, high quality long-term private investment in higher education, skill generation;
 - (xviii) Reform of financial sector by making structural changes aimed at removal of rigidities of the banking system and tackling the problem of weak banks and non-performing assets;
 - (xix) Reforms in India's external economic policies relating to foreign trade, investment, external debt and currency convertibility.

After identifying the major issues and priorities, the Government embarked on policy initiatives to tackle these in a systematic manner.

NDA Government took the following new initiatives in 1998-99 for infrastructure development:

- The Plan outlay for key infrastructure sectors of Energy, Transport and Communications increased by 35 per cent, from Rs. 45,252 crores in 1997-98 to Rs. 61,146 crores in

1998-99.

- The Union Budget, 1998-99, provided that the Government will evolve a guarantee scheme to cover the outstanding dues (estimated at Rs.10,000 crores) of Central PSUs such as NTPC and Coal India from State Electricity Board (SEB). This would enable the former to raise resources either by securitising these debts or directly entering the market for tapping resources.
- The Indian Electricity Act, 1910 and Electricity (Supply) Act, 1948 have been amended to provide for private investment in power transmission.
- Following enactment of the Electricity Regulatory Commission Legislation, the Central Electricity Regulation Commission was set up, with enabling provision for states to establish their own independent regulation commissions.
- Procedures for extending sovereign counter guarantees, to a few Fast Track Power Projects, held up for long have been simplified and the several counter guarantees issued.
- Foreign equity participation up to 100 per cent, subject to a ceiling of Rs. 1500 crores, allowed for electricity generation, transmission and distribution (except those of atomic reactor plants), and in construction and maintenance of roads, highways, vehicular bridges, toll roads, vehicular tunnels, ports and harbours.
- The tax holiday granted to the power sector has been extended from the year 2000 to the year 2003.
- The policy for issuing licenses for providing internet services in the country has been announced. There will be no license fee for the first 5 years and after 5 years a nominal license fee of Rupee 1 will be charged. Private internet service providers are allowed to provide internet international gateways after obtaining security clearance.
- To catalyse new road projects including four-laning of Highways, the Union Budget, 1998-99, provided Rs. 500 crore to the National Highways Authority of India.
- In the Union Budget for 1998-99, an additional tax at the rate of one rupee per litre on petrol has been imposed.
- This would generate Rs. 790 crore in a year and the proceeds

will be utilised to augment the corpus of the National Highways Authority of India.

- Concessions to imports of equipment for, construction of National highways have been extended to other road construction projects.
- Inland waterways and inland ports accorded infrastructure status.
- A National Integrated Highway Project merging the golden quadrilateral connecting Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata with the East-West (Silchar to Saurashtra) and North-South (Kashmir to Kanyakumari) corridors has been launched.
- The Government has announced that five cities will be identified for developing world class international airports. Subsequently, a task force under the Chairmanship of the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission was set up to identify the locations. The task force has recommended that the existing Mumbai and Delhi airports and the proposed a new airport at Bangalore be corporatised, as a first step.
- Necessary amendments have been made to the Companies Act, to put IDFC on par with other All India Public Financial Institutions regarding fiscal incentives and the fund raising benefits extended to these institutions.
- The Union Budget 1998-99, permitted up to ten per cent of the new accretion to provident funds to be invested in private securities of private sector infrastructure projects which have an investment grade rating from at least two credit rating agencies.
- SEBI has granted several relaxations to public issues by infrastructure companies as regards the size, mode, duration, minimum subscription and pricing of issues
- The repeal of the Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act, 1976, for which an ordinance has been promulgated, will contribute significantly towards the development of urban infrastructure, especially housing.

In the area of External Sector, the following steps were taken:

- Foreign Exchange Management Act, 1999 was passed to replace Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA). Its provisions are in conformity with a liberalised market for foreign exchange.
- Prevention of Money Laundering Bill has been introduced in the Parliament.
- Comprehensive automatic approval system for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) based on a negative list and transparent sector limits.
- Foreign equity limit for FDI through automatic route for drugs and pharmaceuticals raised to 74 per cent (from 51 per cent).
- An automatic route opened for issue of American Depositary Receipts (ADRs) and Global Depositary Receipts (GDRs) by Indian companies under liberalised guidelines.
- Software companies can issue ADRs or GDRs for the purpose of acquiring foreign software companies up to \$100 million under an automatic route.
- External Commercial Borrowing (ECB) guidelines liberalised.
- Minimum maturity for FCNR (B) raised to one year (from 6 months) to align it better with general ECB term limits. Incremental CRR of 10 per cent on these deposits simultaneously abolished.

Major economic reform was initiated in 2001-02. The details are given below:

Industry

- Strong thrust to knowledge-based industry by reducing customs duty on several items of IT, telecom and knowledge-based industries.
- Foreign direct investment permitted through automatic route in all industries except for a small negative list.
- Non-banking financial companies allowed to hold foreign equity up to 100 per cent if they are the holding companies. Their subsidiaries, which are the operating companies, also allowed to hold foreign equity up to

7 per cent.

- Dereservation of the garment sector from the purview of SSI reservation.

Infrastructure

- Securitisation of dues of central sector power and coal utilities for assisting the State Electricity Boards (SEBs) in clearing dues.
- Domestic long distance service opened up without any restriction on the number of operators.
- Corporatisation of Department of Telecom Services (DTSs) and Department of Telecom Operations (DTOs) by creating Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL) w.e.f. October 1, 2000.
- Revenue sharing regime, in place of existing fixed licence fee, introduced for both basic and cellular service operators.
- Thrust to accelerated implementation of Prime Minister's National Highways Development Project (NHDP) from petrol and diesel cess and additional fund raising measures for NHAI.
- Divestment of Government equity proposed in Indian Airlines and Air India.
- Extension of tax holiday benefit to solid waste management and water treatment for developing urban infrastructure.

Direct Taxes

- Non-agricultural income of farmhouses made taxable.
- Venture Capital Funds accorded complete pass through status with the income being taxed only in the hands of investors.
- Interest from bonds issued by local authorities, as specified by Central Government, made tax free to make funds available for infrastructure.
- Minimum Alternate Tax (MAT) to be charged at 7.5 per cent of the 'book profits' by all companies as determined under the Companies Act instead of the effective rate of 10.5 per cent earlier.
- Tax holiday benefits liberalised in respect of newly

established industrial undertakings in Free Trade Zones, Software Technology Parks, Electronic Hardware Technology Parks and 100 per cent Export Oriented Undertakings.

- Weighted deduction for expenditure incurred on scientific research on in-house research and development facility enhanced from 125 to 150 per cent.
- Benefit of exemption of export income by entertainment industry extended to non-corporate assesses.
- 'One-by-six' criteria, introduced in the Union Budget 1998-99, for identifying potential taxpayers, extended to 79 more cities (from 54 cities) having population of 2 lakh or more.

Indirect Taxes

- Peak protective customs tariff rate reduced from 40 per cent to 35 per cent ad valorem.
- The existing five major ad valorem rates of basic customs duty reduced to four ad valorem rates.
- The system of Central Excise was overhauled with the introduction of a single Central Value Added Tax (CENVAT) of 16 per cent ad valorem on all manufactured goods with a few exceptions.

Fiscal Management

- The Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management Bill, 2000, was introduced in the Lok Sabha in December 2000. The proposed legislation provides for a legal and institutional framework to eliminate revenue deficit, bring down the fiscal deficit and stabilise debt as a proportion of GDP within a time frame.
- The interest rate on general provident funds reduced by 1 per cent to 11 per cent with effect from April 1, 2000.
- Several measures taken for controlling growth in non-plan, non-developmental expenditure.

Financial Sector

- Tightening of entry norms for IPOs through modifications to SEBI (Disclosure and Investor Protection) guidelines.

- Modified guidelines issued for 100 per cent one-stage book building process.
- Legislation initiated for reducing minimum Government shareholding in nationalised banks to 33 per cent.
- Enlargement of functional area and greater autonomy to NABARD through amendment to the NABARD Act, 1981.
- Revised norms for entry of new banks in private sector. Permission to banks and NBFCs for undertaking insurance business.

Trade Policy

- Setting up of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) to encourage export production.
- Evolution of a scheme for granting assistance to states based on their export performance for development of export related infrastructure.
- Permission to import second hand capital goods, less than 10 years old without obtaining any license on surrender of SIL.

Capital Account

- Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) up to 100 per cent permitted in e-commerce subject to specific conditions.
- The dividend balancing condition for FDI in twenty-two consumer goods industries removed.
- The existing upper limit of Rs. 1500 crores for FDI in projects involving electricity generation, transmission and distribution (other than atomic reactor plants) dispensed with.
- FDI under the automatic route permitted up to 100 per cent for all manufacturing activities in Special Economic Zones (SEZs), except certain activities.
- Foreign equity participation up to 26 per cent in insurance sector allowed under the automatic route.
- Policy liberalisations effected for facilitating the use of ECB as a window for resource mobilisation.
- Policies pertaining to international offerings through ADR/GDR by Indian companies further liberalised.

Structural Reform Initiatives

This process of Economic Reforms was carried further in 2001-02. The major steps taken during the year were:

- Interest rates on small savings reduced.
- Government equity disinvested in select public sector undertakings like VSNL IBP, CMC, HTL, PPL, BALCO and certain ITDC hotels.
- Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) introduced for Government employees in the surplus pool.
- Full decontrol of sugar announced during 2002-03 (conditional on commencement of futures trading).
- Items covered under the Essential Commodities Act reduced from 29 to 17.
- Licensing requirements and restrictions on storage and movement of wheat, rice, sugar, edible oilseeds and edible oils removed.
- New Pharmaceuticals Policy announced reducing the span of price-control rigours on several bulk drugs and formulations.
- Fourteen items de-reserved from the list of items reserved for exclusive manufacture by the small-scale sector.
- Bill for abolition of the Sick Industrial Companies (Special Provision) Act introduced in Parliament.
- Bill for setting up of a National Companies Law Tribunal by amending Companies Act introduced in Parliament.
- The Union Budget (2001-02) proposed amendments in the Industrial Disputes Act and Contract Labour Act for removing the existing structural rigidities in the labour market.

Fiscal Reforms

- Various economy measures introduced including downsizing some of the departments.
- Excise duty structure was rationalised to a single rate of 16 per cent CENVAT (Central Value Added Tax) in 2000-01. The Budget for 2001-02 replaced earlier three special rates of 8 per cent, 16 per cent and 24 per cent by a

single rate of 16 per cent.

- Peak-level of customs duty reduced from 38.5 per cent to 35 per cent with abolition of surcharge on customs duty. Customs duty reduced on specified led textile machines, information technology, telecommunication entertainment industry.
- Goods imported by cent (EOUs) and units (FTZs) and (EZs) exempted and dumping and safeguard duties.
- All surcharges abolished on personal and corporate income tax rates except the Gujarat earthquake surcharge of 2 per cent leviable on all non-corporate and corporate assesses except foreign companies.
- Weighted deduction of 150 per cent expenditure on in-house R&D extended bio-technology.
- Five-year Tax holiday and 30 per cent deduction of profits for the next five years extended to enterprises engaged in integrated handling, transportation and storage of food grains.
- Incentive Fund created for incentivising fiscal reforms in states.
- Corporatisation of stock exchanges proposed involving segregation of ownership, management and trading membership from each other.
- Trading in index options, options on individual securities and stock futures introduced.
- Aggregate limit for FII portfolio investment enhanced to 49 per cent and subsequently upto sectoral ceiling.

External Sector

Trade

- Quantitative Restrictions (QRs) on BOP grounds removed by dismantling restrictions on the remaining 715 items.
- Partial back loading of withdrawal of tax benefits offered to exporters under Section 80 of the Income Tax Act.
- Agri-Economic Zones set up for promoting agricultural, exports on the basis of specific products and geographical areas.
- Market Access Initiative (MAI) scheme introduced to boost exports.

- Interest rates on export credit rationalised by indicating interest rates on export credits as PLR-linked ceiling rates.
- Special financial package introduced for large value exports (annual exports of over Rs. 100 crore) of selected products.
- Duty drawback rates for more than 300 export products and value caps abolished under DEPB on about 400 export items from October 2001.
- Medium term export strategy formulated to achieve a quantum jump in exports in the next five years.

Capital Account

- FDI up to 49 per cent from all sources permitted in the private banking sector.
- 100 per cent FDI permitted for B to B e-commerce courier services, oil-refining, hotel and tourism sector, drugs and pharmaceuticals, Mass Rapid Transport Systems including associated commercial development of real estate.
- Non-Banking Financial Companies (NBFCs) permitted to hold foreign equity up to 100 per cent in holding companies.
- Foreign investors permitted to set up 100 per cent operating subsidiaries without the condition of disinvesting a minimum of 25 per cent equity Indian entities.
- Joint venture NBFCs having 75 per cent or less than 75 per cent foreign investment permitted to set up subsidiaries for undertaking other NBFC activities.
- Dividend balancing conditions withdrawn from 22 consumer items.
- Offshore Venture Capital Funds/Companies allowed to invest in domestic venture capital undertakings.
- FDI up to 100 per cent permitted with prior approval of the Government for development of integrated township.
- The defence industry opened up to 100 per cent private sector participation by Indian companies with FDI permitted up to 26 per cent, both subject to licensing.
- International Financial Institutions like ADB, IFC, CDC, DEG, etc. allowed to invest in domestic companies through the automatic route, subject to SEBI/RBI guidelines and sector specific caps of FDI.

The NDA Government also undertook several measures aimed at rationalisation of tax structure with the objective of reviving demand, promoting investment and economic growth and enhancing productivity, widening tax base, simplification of tax structure and encouraging voluntary compliance. The tax reform measures covered direct taxes, indirect taxes, such as customs, excise and service taxes.

As a result of these measures by 2003-04, the economy turned in a resilient mode in terms of growth, inflation and balance of payment a combination that offered large scope for consolidation of the growth momentum and continued macro-economic stability. Real Domestic Product (GDP) is estimated to have grown by 8.1 per cent in 2003-04, buoyed by a strong agricultural recovery of 9.1 per cent. Apart from agriculture, the industry and services sectors also maintained the momentum with GDP growth. The robust performance of India and the emerging market economies also contributed to the good performance of the world economy.

The current account of Balance of Payment (BoP) has been in surplus since 2001-02 fuelled by strong growth in imports, reflecting an upsurge in economic activity, higher surplus in invisibles, buoyant inflows on private transfers and higher inflows from software services exports, *inter alia*, contributed to this buoyancy in invisibles surplus growth momentum of merchandise exports was also broadly sustained with exports growing by 17.1 per cent in 2003-04 on top of a rise of 20.3 per cent in 2002-03.

In order to keep control on the targets and budget management and fiscal situation 'Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management' (FRBM) Act was enacted in August, 2003. The enactment of this Act marks a watershed in fiscal reforms. The Act provides an institutional framework binding the Government to pursue a prudent fiscal policy. The Act casts responsibility on the Central Government to ensure inter-generational equity in fiscal management and long-term macro-economic stability by achieving sufficient revenue surplus, removing fiscal impediments in the effective conduct of monetary policy and prudential debt management through limits on borrowings and deficits.

Pension reforms were also undertaken. Pension is one of the fastest growing items of expenditure. International experience has amply demonstrated the sustainability problems of unfunded pension system. In view of this the Government approved a new defined contribution pension system for entrants to Central Government except Defence personnel. The system provides for a defined contribution, shared equally by employees and the Government. The new system will also be available on a voluntary basis to all persons including self-employed professional and others in unorganised sector.

There was considerable improvement in performance of the Indian economy on the inflation front with price stability as one of the primary objectives of the reform process intensified after the taking over of NDA Government. The double digit annual average inflation rate of 10.6 per cent between 1991-92 and 1995-96 came down to 4.2 per cent 2001-03 and 2003-04. The structural decline in inflation has also narrowed the differential with inflation in developed economies.

The position of actual stock of food grains maintained a fairly high level. In January 1998, the stock of food grains (wheat and rice) was 18.3 million tonnes against the required minimum as per norms of 14 million tonnes. This gradually went up to 63 million tonnes in July 2002 against the minimum required to be maintained as per norms of 24.3 million tonnes on that date. In January 2004, the stock of food grains was 24.4 million tonnes against the required minimum stock of 16.8 million tonnes. Thus, throughout the period of six years from 1998 to 2004 the food grains stocks in central pool remained comfortable.

The food grains stocks have been used as a principal resource for poverty alleviation programmes under the welfare schemes. The two major schemes are—Mid-day Meal Scheme and Sampoorna Gram Rozgaar Yojana.

In order to reduce fiscal burden on the Central Government a decentralisation scheme was introduced. Instead of Food Corporation of India (FCI) procuring the grains, the states carry out the procurement operations locally and are paid the difference between the economic cost and the central issue price as subsidy. Under this scheme the FCI will continue to procure food grains for maintaining food grain reserves and for such State Governments

which would assign it the task on their behalf. Decentralised procurement operations will help save transport cost and reduce the overall economic cost of procurement without in any way reducing the effectiveness of the objective.

Food processing industry was encouraged in view of the great potential of the industry consequent on economic liberalisation and rising consumer prosperity. Liberalisation of world trade will open up new vistas for growth.

A strong balance of payment position in recent years has led to steady accumulation of India's foreign exchange reserves. During 2003-04, India's total foreign exchange reserves (including gold, SDRs and reserve position in the IMF) amounted to US \$113 billions. India became the sixth largest reserve holder of the world in 2004. Keeping in view, the implications and the impact of such a large foreign exchange reserve on macro-economic management, the Market Stabilisation Scheme (MSS) was introduced in April 2004. The MSS intends to absorb liquidity of a more enduring nature through the issue of Treasury Bills and dated Government securities.

The Indian Industry nurtured in an era of 'license-permit-raj' had to face the impact of liberalisation and globalisation. The Indian Industry has faced these challenges. India has experienced a steady deepening of globalisation. Indian firms are getting integrated into global production chains. Belying the considerable gloom that was there about Indian manufacturing in a globalised era, the best firms of India have succeeded in realising rapid growth rates of exports. This process has been facilitated by the measures undertaken by the Government in the area of reforms, liberalisation and taxation policies and structure.

The agriculture and allied sector registered a growth rate of 9.1 per cent in 2003-04, reflecting the growth in physical production and remunerative prices of agricultural goods. Several initiatives were taken with regard to this sector. Special attention was paid to the problems of plantation sector such as tea, coffee and rubber. In view of the importance of livestock sector which plays an important role in the national economy a major thrust in policies and programmes relating to livestock and fisheries was given in the area of rapid genetic up-gradation of milch animals, improvement in the delivery mechanism of breeding inputs, control of animal diseases, creation

of disease free zones, increased availability of nutritious feed and fodders, development of dairy activities and backyard poultry, development of processing and marketing facilities and enhancement of production and profitability of livestock and fisheries. In the field of horticulture, the plan outlay was considerably enhanced so that horticulture becomes an important avenue for diversification in agriculture and creation of employment opportunities. A centrally sponsored scheme of Technology Mission for integrated development of horticulture was extended to Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and Uttaranchal in 2003-04. Additional cold storage facilities were created under the cold storage scheme of National Horticulture Board. A National Horticulture Mission was also launched. A substantial jump in agricultural credit took place in this period from 1998 to 2004. The total agricultural credit in 1997-98 was Rs. 31,956 crores. In 2003-04, it increased to about Rs. 85,686 crores. *Kisan* Credit Card Scheme was introduced in 1998-99. This scheme became very popular amongst the farmers. A total of over 435 lakhs credit cards were issued by March 2004 with cumulative credit of over 1 lakh crores sanctioned.

The Self-Help Groups (SHGs) Bank linkage programme emerged as the major micro-finance programme in the country. The focus under this programme is largely on those rural poor who have no sustainable access to the formal banking system. The target group, therefore, broadly comprise small and marginal farmers, agricultural and non-agricultural labourers, artisans and craftsmen and other poor engaged in small business like vending and hawking. By March 2004, over 1.7 crore rural poor families accessed financial services of savings and credit through 10.79 lakh credit linked SGH. Around 90 per cent of these SHG are exclusive women SHG. The banks have extended loans amounting to 3,904 crores by March 2004 backed by re-finance support from NABARD.

A scheme of 'Farm Income Insurance Scheme' (FIIS) was implemented in 2003-04 on a pilot basis in 18 selected districts of 12 states for wheat and paddy. Another scheme National Agricultural Insurance Scheme (NAIS) was launched in 1999. This scheme operated on the basis of area approach that is, defined areas for each notified crop for widespread calamities and on an individual basis for localised calamities such as hailstorm, land slides, cyclone and

flood. This scheme is being implemented by 23 states and 2 union territories. Cumulatively 5.9 crore farmers have been covered under this scheme in the 10 seasons that is from Rabi 1999-2000 to Kharif 2004.

Over the years, the agriculture sector did not receive adequate attention. Public investment in agriculture declined though this trend got reversed in 2002-03. The NDA Government also focused attention on the emerging areas in agriculture like horticulture, floriculture, organic farming, genetic engineering, food processing, branding and packaging, which have high potential for growth. Greater attention was also paid to development of rural infrastructure, rural extension services, agro-based and food processing industries, which are essential for generating employment and reducing poverty. The enhanced availability of bank credits through priority lending to agriculture and agro-based industries, favourable terms of trade, liberalised domestic and external trade for agriculture products attracted private investment in agriculture in recent years.

The infrastructure sector covers the services of transportation (railways, roads and road transportation, ports and civil aviation), communications (telecommunications and postal services), electricity and other services such as water supply and sanitation, solid waste management and urban transport. The lack of adequate infrastructure has been constraining the growth performance of the economy.

NDA Government has, therefore, been paying greater attention to development of infrastructure. In addition to the measures taken in 1999 to 2002 some new initiatives were taken in 2003-04. These are given below:

Power

- Electricity Act notified in June 2003.
- 28 states signed the tripartite agreement for one-time settlement of the dues of State Electricity Boards (SEBs) to Central Public Sector Undertakings (CPSUs), and after securitising the dues 27 states issued bonds amounting to Rs. 28,983 crores, August 2003 onwards.
- 50,000 MW hydro-electric initiative launched in May 2003.

Telecom

- Unified Access Service License regime introduced in October 2003.
- Telecommunication Interconnection Usage Charges (IUC) Regulation, notified on October 29, 2003.
- Universal Service Obligation Fund set up as a separate non-lapsable fund in January 2004.

Roads

- 'Pradhan Mantri Bharat Jodo' Project for development of 10,000 kms of roads connecting state capitals with National Highways launched in January 2004.

Railways

- Rail Vikas Nigam set up in January 2003.

Gross Capital Formation (GCF) in infrastructure investment at current prices increased from Rs. 45,950 crores in 1993-94 to Rs. 90,890 crores in 2002-03.

A number of initiatives had been taken from 1999 to 2002. In 2003-04, some major initiatives were further announced.

These are:

- Antyodaya Anna Yojana expanded from April 1, 2003 to cover an additional 50 lakh families raising the total coverage to more than a quarter of all Below Poverty Line (BPL) families in 2003-04.
- A community-based Universal Health Insurance Scheme launched in July 2003.
- A special pension policy, Varishtha Pension Bima Yojana, guaranteeing an annual return of 9 per cent in the form of a monthly pension scheme launched in July 2003.
- National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL) launched in 2003-04 for providing additional components for education of girls at elementary level.
- Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojana (PMSSY) designed with an objective, to provide AIIMS like institutions in six backward states of Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttaranchal.

- Unorganised sector workers' social security scheme launched in January 2004 on a pilot basis in 50 districts in the country.

Plan and Non-Plan expenditure of the Central Government for social services such as education, health, family welfare, water supply, housing, social welfare, nutrition and rural development has more than doubled from Rs. 11,631 crores in 1995 to Rs. 35,478 crores in 2003-04 (RE). As a ratio of total expenditure, the combined plan and non-plan expenditure of the Centre the social sector rose from 10.2 per cent in 1995-96 to 11 per cent in 2003-04 (RE). Expressed as a ratio of GDP at current market prices expenditure on social services increased from 1.5 per cent in 1995-96 to 1.9 per cent in 2003-04 (RE).

The BJP-led NDA Government had started dealing with reforming the economy and pushing development. It took many initiatives to deal with the problems inherited by it. There was improvement in over all economy and by 2004, the economy was fully geared for consolidation of growth momentum with continued macro-economic stability.

The Government, which took over after 2004 General Elections, thus started with great advantage.



Chapter-I

Bharatiya Janata Party

The formation of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was announced in a conference of party workers held at Kotla ground in New Delhi on 6th April, 1980. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shri L.K. Advani took over the responsibilities of President and General Secretary respectively. The question of reviving the Jana Sangh was considered at this meeting. But this idea was not accepted. Shri Vajpayee firmly said: "No. We should not turn back. We will make use of our experience in the Janata Party. We shall move ahead on the strength of our original thinking and principles." This was the consensus at the conference

In the document, 'Five Commitments' adopted at the first session of Bharatiya Janata Party on December, 1980 the background and genesis of the BJP is given:

1. 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. 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

Note: Detailed achievements of NDA Government are published in Vision Document 2004 (Party Document Vol. 1)



at a time when, the nation is faced with an unprecedented crisis. Our people need faith and hope but without any illusion.

2. 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 bickering 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 will enlist the support of all those who are engaged in constructive activity.

The first National Convention of BJP was held at Samata Nagar set up on Bandra reclamation ground at Bombay on 28-30 December, 1980. This convention was a landmark in the recent political history of India. The attendance at the convention was estimated at 50,000 including several thousand women. The participants had come from different parts of the country.

In his presidential address, Shri Vajpayee referred to circumstances in which BJP was launched:

"I do not propose to go into the circumstances in which the Bharatiya Janata Party was launched. But I would like to assert that it was not with any happiness that we parted company with the Janata Party. From beginning to end, we kept exerting in order to preserve the unity of the party. We were conscious of the pledge we had taken at Rajghat in the presence of Lok Nayak Jayaprakash to maintain the unity of the party. But by converting the non-issue of dual membership into an issue a situation was created in which it became impossible for us to continue in the party with any honour and self-respect.

There is no point in trying to unravel the intention of those who created such a situation. But it is noteworthy that even among those who had nothing to do with the RSS, there were quite a few who regarded this dual membership issue as a bogey raised for ulterior ends. Many of these are among the founder members of the Bharatiya Janata Party."

Shri Vajpayee emphasised that BJP will fulfil the unfinished task of Lok Nayak:

"The Janata Party formed because of the inspiration of Lok Nayak Jayaprakash has disintegrated. But his vision of a glorious India is still with us. We shall not allow it to be obliterated. His dreams, his labours, his struggles and his unflinching commitment to certain basic values are part of an invaluable legacy that we have inherited. The Bharatiya Janata Party is pledged to pursuing his unfinished task."

The veteran Jurist and Statesman Shri M.C. Chagla addressed this convention. He described Vajpayee as the future 'Prime Minister'. He observed that 'Bharatiya Janata Party is not a Communal Party'. He said:

"As for communalism, you may have read in the papers that while presiding over a conference of the Rationalist Society the other day, Justice Chenna Reddy, a very able judge and one of the judges of the Supreme Court, observed that it was the secular parties that had done the most to promote religious intolerance, religious backwardness and religious superstition. In other words, secularism in India is not really secular. It has the name and the outward appearance, but at heart it is communal."

He considered BJP as the alternative to replace Congress.

"As I have said earlier, I admire your discipline, your honesty and your dedication. Let me now suggest that you project your future as a national party. Go round the country and tell the people that you are not a regional party, that you are not the former Jana Sangh. As Vajpayeeji has rightly said, this is a new party, a national party, and the only party that can replace Indira. Look at other parties, like the Lok Dal or the Congress (U). These parties have leaders without followers. The communists may have a following, but they are not national

parties. They look to Moscow or Peking to get their orders, so their credentials for consideration as replacements for Indira Gandhi are immediately ruled out. Therefore, this is the only party left.”

The BJP aroused great expectations and was well-received. In a short period it gathered widespread support in different parts of the country. It had a well-disciplined cadre. The membership of the party grew rapidly. The party was generally perceived as an alternative to Congress.



Chapter-II

Objective, Basic Philosophy and Commitment

The National Convention of BJP held at Bombay in December 1980 adopted the Constitution, economic policy statement and five commitments. These were further elaborated later.

According to the Constitution of BJP the objective of the party is as follows:

Objective

The 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 ancient culture and values and thus is able to emerge as a great world power playing an effective role in the comity of the nations for the establishment of world peace and a just international order.

The party aims at establishing a democratic state which guarantees to all citizens irrespective of caste, creed or sex, political, social and economic justice, equality of opportunity and liberty of faith and expression.

The party shall bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India as by law established and to the principle of socialism, secularism and democracy and would uphold the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India.

Basic Philosophy

The basic philosophy adopted by the party is 'Integral Humanism'. 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 the national heritage and from the concept of Mahatma Gandhi's '*Ram-Rajya*' and Pandit Deendayal

Upadhyaya's 'Integral Humanism'. The holistic, total, integral and comprehensive philosophy must suffuse all in national effort for spiritual economic and social development.

Mankind today finds itself engulfed by an unprecedented crisis, which has assumed global dimensions and envelops almost all aspects of human life and environment. 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 disruptions, 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.

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 whole is not merely an aggregate of its components and that 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, lies 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 capitalist and the communist systems has obliterated many of their distinguishing features. The distinction between the two seemingly different systems is fast vanishing because most of the socio-economic models whether non-Marxists or Marxists believe in the reductionist or fragmented approach. They have become inadequate to resolve most of the modern conflicts.

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 galactical phenomena. This 'wholistic' view means 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 the autonomy while functioning as a whole and also submitting to the demands of the larger whole, and in this sense functioning as a part.

The magnitude of the world crisis and the failure of the reductionist approach to provide any tangible solution demands that a new paradigm is needed 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. Deendayalji — 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 geniuses 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 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 creatures 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 are 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 Sama Bhava*'. 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 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.

Five Commitments:

At the first convention the BJP adopted 'Five Principles' which could form the basics for creation of national consensus. These principles were described as 'Our Five Commitments'.

These commitments are as follows:

1. Nationalism and National Integration;
2. Democracy;
3. Positive Secularism, that is, '*Sarva Dharma Sama Bhava*';
4. Gandhian Socialism – Gandhian approach to socio-economic issues leading to the establishment of an egalitarian society free from exploitation;
5. Value-based Politics.

1. Nationalism and National Integration

The first principle adopted was 'Nationalism and National Integration'. In the era of Nation States, the welfare of the people depends largely on nation's efforts.

Defence of national interests should 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, interest etc. People of different faiths and different ideologies should be able to co-exist in peace and harmony with one another. Those who have external or extra-territorial loyalties or are engaged in anti-social activities have to be kept out.

2. Democracy

Second commitment is to 'Democracy. This was a fundamental plank of the JP Movement. The subversion of the democratic institutions had been going on for a long time. To defend democratic institutions and norms and to fight ceaselessly against emerging fascist trend and to defend democracy and fundamental rights was an important commitment. In this regard decentralisation of administration assumes importance. It is not enough to have representative democracy at the level of Parliament and State legislatures operating through bureaucracy but also to have institutions of participatory democracy at district, Intermediate and Panchayat levels with adequate powers and financial resources guaranteed by the Constitution in order to involve people in the efforts for national reconstruction and to make them feel responsible for shaping their own destinies.

3. Positive Secularism

The third commitment adopted is 'positive Secularism', that is '*Sarva Dharma Sama Bhavana*' based on moral values. Secularism of the Congress has been totally immoral and opportunistic and a fraud played on the people of the country because it communalised the Indian politics. The Congress concept of secularism identified it simply with protection of interests of religious minorities with a view to nursing communal vote banks. It became a respectable garb for appeasement of narrow communal and sectional interests. No doubt, protection of minority interests is an

important aspect of secularism. But in its totality, secularism is a much wider and more positive concept. It constitutes the bedrock of democracy. A state that discriminates between one citizen and another on grounds of their faith, which does not treat them equally, cannot claim to be truly democratic because one of the cardinal principles on which democracy is based is equality of all citizens. Commitment to secularism is as fundamental as commitment to democracy. Secularism is also a guarantee of nationalism and national integration. It is this broad concept of secularism that BJP subscribes to. A truly secular state can be established only if a sense of 'Indianness' gets instilled in every citizen, irrespective of his religion, caste, region or language. This 'Indianness' is based on a value-system developed out of a synthesis of divergent experiences of various sections of population over the centuries. This process of synthesis and harmonisation must continue and all religions in the country can contribute towards making citizens better Indian's and all Indians better human beings. Secularism means distillations of common moral values from different religions, other historical and civilisational experiences and approach, which are integral to the Indian Civilisation. It is, thus, positive concept of secularism, which BJP seeks to pursue.

4. Gandhian Socialism

The Fourth commitment is 'Gandhian Socialism'. The BJP adopts Gandhain approach to socio-economic issues leading to the establishment of an egalitarian society free from exploitation. Gandhian approach to economy aims at decentralisation of power and regulating the production and patterns of consumption to ensure distributive justice, which represents the basic feature of integral humanist approach. 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. This is a must for improvement of quality of life. Bread, Freedom and Employment are also

the Gandhian first principles. BJP will make these principles the central core of development strategy and try to build a consensus around these. In the Gandhian framework, there is always a scope for large, medium and small and there need not be restriction on any technology so long as it does not debase human beings or becomes an instrument of exploitation or neo-colonialism. The Indian civilisation has always progressed on the basis of a combination of moral values and positive approach to science. Science and religion will have to be harmonised.

Gandhian Socialism aims at ultimately replacing both capitalism and statism 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.

Gandhiji did not propound any 'ism' as such, but his views revealed an integrated approach to life and even to modern problems. Gandhiji did not regard man only as an economic being like all our ancient seers. Gandhiji wanted man to strive for the fulfillment of not only his material but also his spiritual needs.

There is a basic difference between Gandhian Socialism and Marxist Socialism. Gandhian Socialism starts with human values as historically evolved and tested, and then attempts to reconstruct the economic and social systems on the basis of these values. In Marxist Ideology, on the other hand human values are made subject to social relations, material conditions and conditions of production. Both Gandhism as well as Marxism claim to end exploitation of men by men. But Marxist Socialism cannot tell us why it wants to do so unless it gets out of itself, whereas the basic

premise of Gandhi's philosophy is that exploitation of man by man is a violation of human values.

The exploitation of man by man has not come on account of evolution and progress in human values. It is instead the result of loss of values during some phase of the progress of the socio-economic systems and the material forces operating in that system. Gandhian Socialism insists that if economic exploitation of man by man is to be ended, it cannot be ended within any value-neutral and so-called scientific social system; it can be stopped only through a value system on which the changes in the social system are to be structured as well as tested.

Gandhian Socialism emphasises the reality of both the material and the spiritual, and it is only through this integrated way of looking at reality that human values can be discovered.

Gandhian socialism regards decentralisation as the basis of its political system. In this, there are two streams of political institutions and processes both running parallel to one another. On the one hand, there will be institutions of representative democracy and, on the other there will be institutions of participatory democracy.

Gandhian Socialism is totally against state monopoly of economic power while in communist countries socialism has become synonymous with such state monopoly. Concentration of political and economic power in the hands of the state have made communist regimes utterly repressive and antithetical to socialist humanism. In order to prevent concentration of economic power either in the hands of the state or in the hands of a few individuals. Gandhiji advocated decentralised economy. Both communism as well as capitalism have generated a new kind of inequality, inhumanity, violence, selfishness, greed, unrestrained consumerism and alienation. Gandhiji's idea of trusteeship points a third way to the world. It can imbibe good points of both capitalism and communism while rejecting their bad points. If society is to harmonise the interests of consumers, producers, the state, owners of

property and labour, joining in a common endeavour, then there is no other alternative except trusteeship. Gandhiji's concept of trusteeship does not depend simply on the good sense of those, who are in power. Its real importance can be understood only in the context of institutional changes and organised people's power.

The BJP is committed to mobilise a national campaign to have Gandhian Socialism accepted as a third alternative to Communism and Capitalism.

5. Value-based Politics

Fifth commitment adopted by BJP is 'Value-based Politics'. 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. Social and political life should be guided by a set of norms and values, the abridgement of which should bring forth social sanctions and punishment. BJP will strive to build up such a 'value-based politics' and, thus, cleanse the public life and restore moral values. Irrespective of caste creed, language, region, an average Indian cherishes deep respect for values like tolerance, contentment's, simple living, hardwork and brotherhood. Human activity devoid of any values leads to virtual collapse of the social system.

The country's crisis is essentially moral crisis. The biggest curse of public life is that moral values have given way to self-seeking and power lust and politics has become a pure power game. The nation thus suffers an erosion of moral strength and loses its capacity to face difficulties. This position has to be rectified by accepting Indian Cultural Values as the basis for progress and regard the individual particularly the weakest individual, as the focal point of development. The people must feel that BJP is a party different from the crowd of self-seekers who swamp the political stage, that its aim is not somehow to sneak into office and that its politics is based on certain values and principles.

The basic philosophy of 'Integral Humanism' and

the five commitments constitute the ideology of the BJP. This ideology draws from the Indian heritage, culture and ethos. It incorporates the legacy of Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Gandhian approach and JP's vision of a glorious India. It is also influenced by JP movement, anti-authoritarian and anti-emergency struggle followed by democratic restoration. *Bharatiya Sanskriti* (culture) and *Maryyada* (tradition) taking into account the changes that have taken place and demands of the times we live in.



Chapter-III

Organisational Structure

The BJP has conducted its affairs right from its formation in accordance with its Constitution adopted at the convention held at Bombay in December 1980, and as amended from time to time. It has been conducting biennial organisational elections from Panchayat to the National level regularly. Great attention is paid right from its inception to the membership drive. The party was launched in April 1980 and by the time the first national convention was held in December 1980, the BJP had attained a membership of over 25 lakhs (2.5 million). A large section of these members were not connected with the former Jana Sangh and were from all parts of the country and from all sections of the society. Since then the party membership has grown manifold. In 2000, the Primary Membership had risen to 3 crores (30 million) out of which 2.43 crores (2.43 million) are Active Members.

Membership

Any Indian citizen of age 18 years or above, who accepts the objective, basic philosophy and commitments of the party as laid down in Articles II, III and IV respectively of the Constitution can become a member of the party provided he is not a member of any other political party. He has to make an application and pay the prescribed subscription. The term of membership will ordinarily be of 6 years after which he has to fill membership form again.

Besides the ordinary membership the Constitution also provides for 'Active Membership'. A member of standing of three year or more can apply for 'active membership' by making payment of a prescribed fee along with active membership form. An active member is expected to participate in programmes of the party including agitational programmes, and is also expected to subscribe to party magazine – State or Central.

While a member can contest elections of 'local committees', only an active member is eligible to contest elections for a 'Mandal Committee' or become member of any committee or council above

the level of a Mandal Committee.

Organisational Structure

The organisational structure is as follows:

1. National level

- (a) The Plenary or Special session of the party
- (b) The National Council; and
- (c) The National Executive

2. State level

- (a) State Council
- (b) State Executive
 - Regional Committees
 - District Committees
 - Mandal Committees
 - Gram/Shahri Kendra
 - Local Committees

The area of the Mandal or a Local Committee is to be determined by the State Executive. No Local Committee shall have more than 5000 population.

The Area of a District ordinarily be the same as of an administrative district in the State. The State Executive can determine otherwise. All cities with more than 5 lakh populations may be treated as separate district.

A city area with more than 20 lakh populations may be divided into more than one district, as may be the determined by the State Executive.

The State units of the party conform to the State and Union

Territories mentioned in the Constitution. The National Executive may, however, sanction setting up of Regional Committees for a metropolitan area within the jurisdiction of the State units.

The States shall be divided into three categories:

Category-1

The States that have got 5 or less than 5 Lok Sabha seats.

Category-2

The States that have got 6 to 20 Lok Sabha seats.

Category-3

The States that have got 21 or more Lok Sabha seats.

The State/UT where 4-tier organisational system is not feasible can adopt a suitable system with the prior consent of the National President.

Local Committees

The lowest unit is Local Committee. A Local Committee area must have at least 50 members. But if the population of the area is less than 1000, the number of members shall be at least 25. The Local Committees have been divided into 4 categories on the basis of number of members:

1. Local Committee having 25 to 49 members
2. Local Committee having 50 to 149 members
3. Local Committees having 150 to 299 members
4. Local Committees having 300 members and above.

The Local Committee of the category (1), will elect a President and eight members out of whom at least one will be a woman. The President will nominate one Secretary from amongst the Members.

For category (2) Local Committee, the President and 12 members will be elected out of which one will be a woman. The President will nominate one General Secretary and one Secretary from amongst the members.

For category (3) Local Committee, President and 16 members will be elected out of which at least two will be women. The President will nominate one Vice-President one General Secretary

and one Secretary from amongst the members.

For category (4) Local Committeem, President and 20 members will be elected out of which at least 2 will be women. The president will nominate 2 Vice-Presidents, 1 General Secretary and 2 Secretaries from amongst the members. Among the office bearers at least one must be a woman

Gram Kendra/Shahri Kendra

A Gram Kendra/Shahri Kendra will have a viable number of Local Committee under its jurisdiction, which will be decided by the state. The Mandal President will nominate from among Mandal Executive Committee members, a convener of a Kendra. The Local Committee Presidents of the Kendra will be members of the Kendra Committee.

Mandal Committee

1. (a) A Mandal Committee of category-1 State shall consist of a President and not more than 20 members out of whom at least three will be women and 2 SC/ST. The President shall nominate from amongst the members of the Committee not more than two Vice-Presidents, one General Secretary, one Treasurer and not more than two Secretaries.
- (b) A Mandal Committee of category-2 State shall consist of a President and not more than 30 members, at least 4 of whom shall be women and 2 belonging to SC/ST. The President of Mandal shall nominate from amongst the members of the committee not more than three Vice-Presidents, one General Secretary, one Treasurer and not more than three General Secretaries.
- (c) A Mandal Committee of category-3 State consists of a President and not more than 40 members, at least 5 of whom shall be women and 3 members belonging to SC/ST. The President of the Mandal shall nominate not more than four Vice-Presidents, one General Secretary, one Treasurer and not more than four Secretaries.
2. The President and members of the Mandal are elected by all the elected members of at least as many Local Committees

of the Mandal the number of which is determined by the State Executive.

3. The office bearers of a Mandal Committee of all the categories shall include at least one woman and one SC/ST among them.
4. Only active members can be the Mandal Committee members. The District President can waive the condition of three years' period to become an active member in such cases where it is absolutely necessary.

District Committees

District Committees of category-1 State consists of President and not more than 30 members, District Committee of category-2 have besides President not more than 44 members and of category-3 State besides President not more than 60 members. In District Committee of category-1 States at least 3 women members and 3 of SC/ST, in category-2 States at least 5 women members and 4 members belonging to SC/ST members and in category 3 States at least 7 women members and 4 SC/ST members are a must. In category-1 States President nominates from amongst the elected members not more than three Vice-Presidents, one General Secretary, one Treasurer, three Secretaries, in category-2 States the President nominates not more than four Vice-Presidents, two General Secretaries (out of whom one is Organising Secretary), one Treasurer and not more than four Secretaries. In category-3 State President nominates not more than five Vice-Presidents, three General Secretaries out of these one is Organising Secretary, one Treasurer and not more than five Secretaries. In all the three categories of States at least one of office bearers has to be a woman and in category-2 and 3 States besides woman one office bearer belonging to SC/ST has also to be nominated.

In all the three categories of the States the District President and members are elected by the elected members of all the Mandal Committees in the District. The President nominates four Members of the Committee giving due representation to the geographical, professional, social and organisation spread. With the prior consent of the State President, the District President can appoint one General Secretary (Organisation) even from outside the elected members of

his Committee.

The President must be a primary member for a minimum period of six years and other committee members primary, members for not less than three years. They must also be active members.

State Council

State Council shall consists of:

- (a) Elected Members of the Mandal Committees in a District shall elect members for the State Council equal in number to the number of seats in the State Assembly allocated to the District, including a minimum number of persons belonging to SC/ST equal to the Assembly seats reserved for them from that districts.
- (b) Ten per cent of Party legislators to be elected by all the members of the legislature party, but not less than ten. If the total numbers of legislators is below ten, then all of them.
- (c) Ten per cent of party Parliament members from the State but not less than three. If the number of Parliament members from the State is below three, then all of them.
- (d) All members of the National Council from the State.
- (e) All former State President
- (f) All members of the State Executive
- (g) All office bearers of the Regional Committees
- (h) Leader of the Party in State Assembly and State Council
- (i) President and General Secretaries of the District Committee's in the State
- (j) Party Presidents/Chairman of Corporations, Municipalities, Zila Parishads and Blocks by the State President.
- (k) Nominated members (not more than 25) by the State President
- (l) State Presidents of Allied Morchas and Cells.

Each member of the Council has to pay prescribed fee.

Thus, the State Council is a fairly comprehensive and representative body. It comprises both indirectly elected members, legislators, office bearers of other bodies and nominated members. There is provision for SC/ST and women members also.

State Executive

The State Executive of category-1, States shall have a President and not more than 50 members, of category-2, a President and 60 members and of category-3, a President and seventy members. There is provision for 6, 8 and 10 women members and 4, 5 and 6 members belonging to SC/ST in category-1, 2 and 3 States respectively.

The President of the State is elected by the elected members of the State Council and members of legislature and Parliament who are in the State Council. President has to be an active member.

The President nominates from amongst the members of the State Executive not more than four Vice-Presidents, two General Secretaries (one of them to be General Secretary-Organisation) four Secretaries and one Treasurer in category-1 State. In category-2, the President nominates not more than five Vice-Presidents, three General Secretaries (one of them to be General Secretary organisation), five Secretaries and one Treasurer. In category-3, the President nominates not more than six Vice-Presidents, four General Secretaries including one General Secretary of organisation, six Secretaries and one Treasurer. In all the three categories of State one office bearer will be a woman and two SC/ST.

National Council

The National Council consists of:

- (a) Members elected by the State Council—These members are elected by the elected members of the State Council and Party Parliament members of the State Council. The number of members to be elected from each State is the number of Lok Sabha seats allocated to the State provided that these members shall include a minimum number of persons belonging to SC/ST equal to the number of seats reserved for them in the State;
- (b) Ten per cent of the members of Parliament but all upto 10;
- (c) All former National Presidents;
- (d) All State Presidents;
- (e) Leaders of the party in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha;
- (f) Leaders of the party in State Assemblies and Councils;
- (g) Nominated members (not more than 40) by the National President;

- (h) All members of the National Executive and ;
- (i) All India Presidents of Allied Morchas and Cells.

Each member of National Council has to pay a prescribed fee.

National President

The National President is electoral by an electorate college comprising all elected members of the National Council and Members of Parliament who are in the National Council, all elected members in the State Councils and the Members of Parliament and State Legislature who are in the State Council.

National Executive

The National Executive consists of President and not more than 80 members, of whom at least 12 shall be women and 8 belonging to SC/ST. The National Executive is nominated by the President.

The President also nominates not more than 9 Vice-Presidents not more than 7 General Secretaries (one of them to be General Secretary-Organisation), 1 Treasurer and not more than 9 Secretaries. Out of the office bearers there will be at least 6 women/SC/ST giving representation to at least one from each category.

Term of the President and other stipulations

- (a) No member shall hold the post of President for more than one term of three years.
- (b) In making nominators in the State or National Executive, State President or National President will have at least 25 per cent new members.
- (c) At the national, State and District levels only a whole time worker shall be appointed as General Secretary (Organisation). He will be eligible to contest an election only two years after his relinquishing office.
- (d) The number of Special Invitees in a National Executive shall not exceed 30 per cent, in State Executive 25 per cent and in District Committee 20 per cent of its total strength besides ex-officio permanent invitees.

Plenary Session

The following shall be entitled to attend the Plenary Session:

- (a) All members of the National Council
- (b) All members of the State Councils
- (c) All members of the Party in Parliament
- (d) All members of the Party in State Legislature
- (e) All other categories agreed upon by the National Executive for the session.

Plenary Session of the party is held ordinarily once in every term. A special session will be held if the National Executive so decides or 1/3rd members of the National Council jointly make a request to the National President for discussing an agenda specified in the demand.

Powers and Jurisdictions

- (1) All decisions taken at a Plenary Session or a Special Session shall be binding on all units, organs, allied morchas, cells and members of the party.
- (2) The National Council, subject to decisions taken at a Plenary or Special Session is the highest policy-making body of the party.
- (3) Subject to decisions taken at a Plenary or Special Session and the policy laid down by the National Council, the National Executive is the highest authority of the party. It frames rules, allocates functions and powers to all other units and organs. All residuary powers belong to the National Executive. Ordinarily, it meets every quarter, though meetings are called at shorter duration also as and when needed.

Parliamentary Board

Parliamentary Board is set up by the National Executive consisting of Party President and 8 other members one of whom will be the leader of the party in Parliament. One of the General Secretary is nominated as Secretary of the Parliamentary Board by the President.

The Parliamentary Board has power to supervise and regulate the activities of the legislative and parliamentary parties of the party,

to guide in the formation of ministry and also has the authority to take note of any breach of discipline by members of the legislative and parliamentary parties and also by office-bearers of state-units and take such actions that are necessary. The Board will discuss and decide any policy pursuit or policy change which has not till then been adopted by the party. The Board shall have power and authority to guide and regulate all the organisational units below the National Executive. These decisions shall be ratified at a special meeting of the National Executive within twenty-one days of the said decisions.

Central Election Committee

The National Executive sets up a Central Election Committee consisting of the Parliamentary Board and 8 other members elected by the National Executive as per rules for the purpose of making final selection of candidates for the State Legislatures and Parliament, and conducting election campaigns.

State Election Committee

The State Executive elects a State Election Committee of not more than 15 members to propose names of party candidates for legislature and parliamentary seats from the State to the Central Election Committee and to make final selection of party candidates for the various Local Body Elections, Co-operative Institutions and the like; and to conduct election campaigns in the State.

Co-ordination Committees

The coordination committees are set up at State, District and Mandal levels to coordinate and bring better understanding and cooperation between the organisational and legislative side of the party at the State level, District level and Mandal level. The State Committee functions under the direction and guidance of Central Parliamentary Board. District coordination committees function under the supervision of the State Coordination Committee and the Mandal Coordination Committees are supervised by the District Coordination Committee.

Thus, there is an elaborate Constitution governing the organisation. The Constitution is fully democratic and representative

in character. BJP is a unique example of a political party, which has regularly conducted elections at all levels right from its inception. The meetings at various levels are regularly held and free and frank discussion and participation is an important feature of these meetings.



Chapter IV

Lok Sabha Elections

Jana Sangh was formed in 1951. It contested five Lok Sabha Elections held in 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967 and 1971. The performance of Jana Sangh in these elections is as given below:

Lok Sabha Elections			
<i>Year</i>	<i>Contested</i>	<i>Won</i>	<i>Percentage votes</i>
1952	94	3	3.1
1957	130	4	6.0
1962	196	14	6.0
1967	251	35	6.4
1971	157	22	7.4

There was steady growth in the percentage of votes secured by the party.

The 1977 election was fought by Jana Sangh as a part of Janata Party even though the merger had not taken place formally when the Elections were held. The Janata Party fought the election on the symbol of Lok Dal in the entire country except Tamil Nadu where the symbol of Cong (O) was adopted. The Janata Party contested over 405 seats and won 299 seats securing 42.17 per cent of votes including Tamil Nadu. Out of these 93 Lok Sabha seats were won by Jana Sangh constituent. It emerged as the largest constituent in Janata Party.

Before 1980 Lok Sabha General Elections there was split in Janata Party. The residual Janata Party fought this Election on the symbol of Janata Party. The Janata Party contested 432 seats and won 31 seats and secured 19 per cent of votes. Out of these 15 seats belonged to erstwhile Jana Sangh.

The first Lok Sabha General Election was fought by BJP in 1984. There have been seven General Elections to Lok Sabha since the formation of BJP. In 1984 election could not be held in Assam and Punjab along with other states. Elections in these two states were held in 1985. Similarly in 1991 elections in Punjab could not be held along with other states. Elections in Punjab were held in 1992.



The performance of BJP in these seven Lok Sabha General Elections is given ahead:

The Elections for Eighth Lok Sabha in Punjab and Assam could not be held along with other states. These were held in 1985.

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of seats	Seats contested	Won
1.	Assam	1985	77.40	0.37	14	2	0
2.	Punjab	1985	67.36	3.39	13	3	0
TOTAL			1.83	27	5	0	

1984 Lok Sabha General Election was an unusual election. It was held in atmosphere surcharged with emotions resulting from ‘Operation Blue Star’, the ghastly assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the bloody riots following the assassination.

Congress, the ruling party made full use of this situation in its election campaign and succeeded in diverting people’s attention from problems like rising prices, deteriorating law and order situation, all pervasive corruption, even the mishandling by it of the Punjab problem. With the help of unlimited resources at its disposal, gross misuse of Government media and a no holds barred relentless propaganda, the ruling party projected national unity as the only election issue and itself as the only saviour of this unity. Electoral malpractices were on a scale larger than ever before. A divided opposition losing credibility with the people particularly because of prolonged and intermittent talks about merger, alliance, adjustment of seats and so on, also helped the ruling party.

As a result, the Congress (I) secured an unprecedented majority of seats, winning with a huge margin in many areas. All the national opposition parties fared very badly and the Bharatiya Janata Party secured only two seats.

BJP however, secured 7.74 per cent of votes and its candidates were next to the winner candidates in more than 100 constituencies out of 224 seats contested by BJP. Thus, there was considerable public support for the party.

Indian National Congress (INC) secured 415 seats and 49.10 per cent of votes, later it secured 27 seats in Punjab and Assam. So it got 442 seats. Communist Party Marxist (CPM) 22 seats with 5.87 per cent of votes and Communist Party (CPI) 6 seats with 2.71 percentage of votes. Rajiv Gandhi headed the Congress Government

Performance of BJP in Lok Sabha General Elections 1984-2004

State/UT	Year	Date of Poll	Polling %	Votes secured	Votes %	No. of seats	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
All States/UT except Assam and Punjab	1984		63.56	18202853	7.74	514	224	2
Assam and Punjab	1985		72.23	263284	1.83	27	5	0
All States/UT 85	1989		61.96	34171477	11.36	529	225	
All States/UT except Punjab	1991		55.71	55766001	20.11	521	468	120
Only Punjab	1992		23.96	497999	16.51	13	9	0
All States/UT	1996	27-04-1996 02-05-1996 07-05-1996 23-05-1996 30-05-1996	57.94	4903070	20.29	543	471	161
All States/UT	1998	16-02-1998 22-02-1998 23-02-1998 28-02-1998 07-03-1998	61.97	94266193	25.59	543	388	182

State/UT	Year	Date of Poll	Polling %	Votes secured	Votes %	No. of seats	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
All States/UT	1999	05-09-1999	59.99	86562209	23.75	543	339	182
		11-09-1999						
		18-09-1999						
		25-09-1999						
		03-10-1999						
All States/UT	2004	20-04-2004	57.98	86372039	22.16	543	364	138
		26-04-2005						
		05-05-2005						
		20-05-2005						

1984 Lok Sabha General Elections – Eighth Lok Sabha

The Election for the Eighth Lok Sabha were held in 1984 except for the State of Assam and Punjab. In these two States Elections were held in 1985. This was the first Lok Sabha General Election contested by BJP. The BJP contested 224 seats out of 514 seats for which the Elections were held. The polling percentage in the Elections was 63.56 per cent. BJP secured 7.4 per cent of valid votes and won two seats, one each in Gujarat and Andhra.

The details of BJP’s performance are given ahead:

1984 Lok Sabha Elections — BJP's Performance Eighth Lok Sabha

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1984	68.97	2.22	42	2	1
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	1984	75.46	—	2	—	—
3.	Bihar	1984	58.80	6.92	54	32	0
4.	Goa, Daman & Diu	1984	71.81	3.04	2	2	—
5.	Gujarat	1984	57.93	18.64	26	11	1
6.	Haryana	1984	66.84	7.54	10	6	0
7.	Himachal Pradesh	1984	61.45	23.27	4	3	0
8.	Jammu & Kashmir	1984	66.41	1.71	6	1	0
9.	Karnataka	1984	65.67	4.68	28	6	0
10.	Kerala	1984	77.13	1.75	20	5	0
11.	Madhya Pradesh	1984	57.53	29.99	40	40	0
12.	Maharashtra	1984	61.75	10.07	48	20	0
13.	Manipur	1984	85.75	6.96	2	1	0
14.	Meghalaya	1984	54.47	—	2	—	—
15.	Mizoram	1984	—	—	—	—	—
16.	Nagaland	1984	66.46	—	1	—	—
17.	Orissa	1984	56.26	1.18	21	4	0
18.	Rajasthan	1984	56.99	23.69	25	24	0
19.	Sikkim	1984	57.64	—	1	—	—

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
20.	Tamil Nadu	1984	72.98	0.07	39	1	0
21.	Tripura	1984	77.32	0.77	2	1	0
22.	Uttar Pradesh	1984	55.81	6.42	85	50	0
23.	West Bengal	1984	78.61	0.40	42	9	0
24.	Andaman & Nicobar	1984	78.82	—	1	—	—
25.	Chandigarh	1984	68.93	5.60	1	1	0
26.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1984	74.60	—	1	—	—
27.	Delhi	1984	64.48	18.85	7	5	0
28.	Lakshadweep	1984	86.98	—	1	—	—
29.	Pondicherry	1984	72.28	—	1	—	—
Total				7.74	514	224	2

as Prime Minister.

1989 Lok Sabha General Elections – Ninth Lok Sabha

The Ninth Lok Sabha Elections were held in 1989. The BJP contested 226 seats out of 466 seats for which the elections were held. The BJP secured 85 seats and 11.36 per cent of votes.

The details of BJP's performance are given ahead:

Janata Dal (JD) secured 143 seats and 17.79 per cent of votes, Indian National Congress (INC) secured 197 seats with 39.53 per cent of votes and Communist Party Marxist (CPM) 33 seats with 6.55 per cent of votes and Communist Party of India (CPI) 12 seats with 2.57 per cent of votes. INC emerged as the largest party but as against 491 seats secured by it in 1984 it got only 197 seats. Thus the people's mandate was against it.

The states where BJP secured seats are Bihar 8 seats, Gujarat 12 seats, Himachal Pradesh 3 seats, MP 27 seats, Maharashtra 10 seats, Rajasthan 13 seats, UP 8 seats, Delhi 4 seats. Thus, the major gain was in states in North and West India. A close analysis indicates that there has been steady all round progress in all states including those where its presence used to be slight to the point of being negligible. In Maharashtra, 4 seats were won by BJP ally Shiv Sena. In a State like West Bengal, the percentage of votes increased and BJP was recognised as the third force in the State.

In the seats won by BJP there were 5 women MPs, 12 Scheduled Caste MPs, and 7 Scheduled Tribe MPs. One of the Tribal MP was elected from a General Seat Bharuch. A majority of the seats had been won from rural constituencies.

The 1989 Lok Sabha elections became the peak point in the BJP's ascent upward both in terms of popular support as well as the number of seats won in the Lok Sabha. This 1989 Lok Sabha result is no doubt a verdict against the Rajiv Government's corruption and incompetence. All Opposition parties, including the BJP were beneficiaries of the negative vote generated. But in case of the BJP its victory has a substantial positive content as well, the first ideological, the second organisational and the third behavioral.

The ideological content was contributed by the debate

on secularism and communalism. The BJP advocated 'positive secularism' as against the Congress and most other parties subscribing only to vote bank secularism. Positive secularism means justice for all, but appeasement to none. The second factor which earned for the BJP a positive vote was the sustained and systematic grass root activity carried on by units of BJP among Farmers, Youth Women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Traders, Professional and others. The third factor is behavioural factor. Over the years, BJP has acquired the reputation of being a cadre based party relatively free from infighting, indiscipline, power lust, defection etc. maladies which affected most other parties in the

1989 Lok Sabha General Elections – BJP's Performance
Ninth Lok Sabha

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1989	70.43	1.97	42	2	0
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	1989	59.17	—	2	—	—
3.	Assam	1989	—	—	—	—	—
4.	Bihar	1989	60.24	11.72	54	24	8
5.	Goa	1989	58.16	0.71	2	1	0
6.	Gujarat	1989	54.58	30.47	26	12	12
7.	Haryana	1989	64.41	8.31	10	2	0
8.	Himachal Pradesh	1989	63.94	45.25	4	4	3
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	1989	25.68	7.15	6	2	0
10.	Karnataka	1989	67.53	2.55	28	5	0
11.	Kerala	1989	79.30	4.51	20	20	0
12.	Madhya Pradesh	1989	55.21	39.66	40	33	27
13.	Maharashtra	1989	59.86	23.72	48	33	10
14.	Manipur	1989	71.76	2.27	2	1	0
15.	Meghalaya	1989	51.92	—	2	—	—
16.	Mizoram	1989	58.26	—	1	—	—
17.	Nagaland	1989	74.71	—	1	—	—
18.	Orissa	1989	59.27	1.28	21	6	0
19.	Punjab	1989	62.67	4.17	13	3	0

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
20.	Rajasthan	1989	56.53	29.64	25	17	13
21.	Sikkim	1989	72.01	-	1	-	-
22.	Tamil Nadu	1989	66.86	0.29	39	3	0
23.	Tripura	1989	83.89	0.58	2	1	0
24	Uttar Pradesh	1989	51.27	7.58	85	31	8
25	West Bengal	1989	79.67	1.67	42	19	0
26	Andaman & Nicobar	1989	71.71	-	1	-	-
27	Chandigarh	1989	65.67	12.26	1	1	0
28	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1989	72.93	-	1	-	-
29	Daman & Diu	1989	66.03	-	1	-	-
30	Delhi	1989	54.30	26.19	7	5	4
31	Lakshadweep	1989	84.99	-	1	-	-
32	Pondicherry	1989	66.71	-	1	-	-
Total				11.6	529	225	85

country.

In the General Elections 1989, no party got a clear majority in Parliament. The National Front staked its claim to form the Government and asked BJP and the Left Front for support. The Left Front gave them unconditional support but BJP made it clear that there was considerable difference in BJP points of view on issues like Kashmir, Punjab, Article 370 of the Constitution, a Common Civil Code, the Minority Commission and *Rama Janambhoomi* etc. Still in deference to the people's mandate against the Congress, BJP decided to generally support the National Front Government from outside without surrendering its right to oppose its wrong policies. Right from the beginning V.P. Singh, who assumed office as Prime Minister of National Front Government began to take decisions without bearing this fact in mind.

V.P. Singh's Government assumed office amidst high hopes, But within a brief span of eleven months all these hopes were dashed to the ground. Intense lust for power leading to ceaseless infighting among ruling party politicians and social dissonance brought about in the name of social justice, but actually in shameless pursuit of communal and casteist vote-banks, rendered the Government totally incapable of dealing with the numerous problems confronting the country. The manner in which the Government sought to implement the Mandal Commission Report without caring to consult the parties supporting the Government and without incorporating in it the economic criteria suggested by BJP in its Election Manifesto divided the people by arousing exaggerated hopes in one section and exaggerated fears in some other sections. The National Front Government's eleven month rule was dismal record of mal-performance and non-performance. In view of this, BJP found it difficult to associate with such a Government and, therefore, withdrew support on 1st October, 1990. Immediately, thereafter the National Front Government lost its majority in Lok Sabha and resigned.

There was split in Janata Dal and a group led by Shri Chandrashekhar parted company and formed a Government with outside support of Congress. The upshot of these developments was the emergence of an unholy combination of a miniscule Government headed by a surrogate and backed by those who were specifically

rejected by the electorate. Such a combination lacked durability and, therefore, the President on the advice of Prime Minister dissolved the Ninth Lok Sabha and gave a direction that the tenth Lok Sabha be constituted by 5th June, 1991. Thus, ended the Ninth Lok Sabha. The country suffered on account of the dangerous divisiveness of Shri V.P. Singh and the return of infantile policies arising from the back seat driving by Shri Rajiv Gandhi during Shri Chandershekhar's Government.

1991 Lok Sabha General Election – Tenth Lok Sabha

The General Election for the Tenth Lok Sabha was held in 1991 in all States except Punjab. The General Election in Punjab was held in 1992. The total number of seats for which election was held were 521. BJP contested 468 seats and won 120 seats securing vote percentage of 20.11 per cent as against 11.36 per cent of votes and 85 seats in 1989. Part of the increase in vote percentage was on account of BJP contesting more seats in 1991, part was, however, on account of increase in the popularity of BJP.

Out of 120 seats won nineteen seats were won by Scheduled Caste, three by Scheduled Tribes and ten by women candidates. The details of BJP's performance are given ahead:

The BJP virtually swept U.P. winning 51 out of 85 seats. BJP also opened its account in Karnataka with 4 seats, Assam with 2 seats and Daman and Diu by winning the only seat in this union territory. It improved its position in Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh and Delhi. In Madhya Pradesh though BJP secured more votes compared to 1989 Elections the number of seats secured went down. In Rajasthan it maintained more or less the earlier position with larger vote share.

Indian National Congress emerged as the largest party with 232 seats and secured vote percentage of 36.26. JD got 59 seats and 11.84 per cent votes, CPM got 35 seats and 6.16 per cent votes and CPI 14 seats with 2.49 per cent of votes.

The 1991 Elections gave a new direction to India's polity. BJP redefined the strategic parameters of political debate and activism within the country. Ideologically the polity got polarised between the archaic thoughts of yester-year and pseudo-secularism and

BJP's renascent nationalism and new economic thought. For the BJP 1991 was a major milestone. The party emerged as the principal Opposition party in Parliament. While in the past, the success of Opposition parties including that of the BJP, had its roots mainly in an anti-establishment and anti-Congress feeling of the electorate, in 1991 the achievement of BJP was on the basis of its positive ideology and programmes.

Congress Party managed to forge a minority Government under Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao as Prime Minister. This Government was not hamstreng by the constraints of dynasty.

The Congress Government conducted Lok Sabha Election in Punjab in 1992, as these could not be held along with other states in 1991 in a manner aimed at bolstering its own minority position in the Lok Sabha. The possibility of bringing all sections of society in Punjab into the political process was sacrificed at the alter of political expediency. As a result, the Congress was able to secure 12 out of 13 seats but it sacrificed peace and security in the process.

The Congress further bolstered its strength in Lok Sabha by indulging in the game of defections through questionable means. As a result, it was able to secure a majority in Parliament and completed its full term.

1996 Lok Sabha General Elections – Eleventh Lok Sabha

The General Elections for the Eleventh Lok Sabha were held in 1996 with the completion of the term of Tenth Lok Sabha. The

1991 Lok Sabha Elections – BJP's Performance

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Tenth Lok Sabha				No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
			Polling %	Votes % secured					
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1991	61.42	9.63	42	41	1		
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	1991	51.28	6.11	2	2	0		
3.	Assam	1991	75.25	9.60	14	8	2		
4.	Bihar	1991	60.35	15.95	52	51	5		
5.	Goa	1991	42.39	15.61	2	2	0		
6.	Gujarat	1991	44.01	50.37	26	26	20		
7.	Haryana	1991	65.84	10.17	10	10	0		
8.	Himachal Pradesh	1991	57.43	42.79	4	4	2		
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	1991	—	—	—	—	—		
10.	Karnataka	1991	54.81	29.28	28	28	4		
11.	Kerala	1991	73.32	4.61	20	19	0		
12.	Madhya Pradesh	1991	44.36	41.88	40	40	12		
13.	Maharashtra	1991	48.75	20.20	48	31	5		
14.	Manipur	1991	69.65	8.10	2	2	0		
15.	Meghalaya	1991	53.75	6.89	2	2	0		
16.	Mizoram	1991	58.64	—	—	—	—		
17.	Nagaland	1991	77.07	3.00	1	1	0		
18.	Orissa	1991	53.81	9.50	21	21	0		
19.	Rajasthan	1991	47.25	40.88	25	25	12		
20.	Sikkim	1991	58.75	—	1	—	—		
21.	Tamil Nadu	1991	63.92	1.65	39	15	0		
22.	Tripura	1991	67.28	2.99	2	2	0		
S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes %	No. of	Seats	Seats won		

			secured	Seats in		contested by	by BJP
				Lok Sabha	BJP		
23.	Uttar Pradesh	1991	49.24	32.82	85	84	51
24.	West Bengal	1991	76.73	11.66	42	42	0
25.	Andaman & Nicobar	1991	64.35	4.85	1	1	0
26.	Chandigarh	1991	57.84	28.80	1	1	0
27.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1991	66.48	35.39	1	1	0
28.	Daman & Diu	1991	67.00	31.88	1	1	1
29.	Delhi	1991	48.52	40.21	7	7	5
30.	Lakshadweep	1991	80.37	-	1	-	-
31.	Pondicherry	1991	67.71	1.97	1	1	0
Total				20.11	521	468	120
1.	Punjab	1992	23.96	16.51	13	9	0
Total				16.51	13	9	0

Elections were held in all the 543 seats. The BJP contested 471 seats. It secured 161 seats and 20.92 per cent of votes. The over all percentage of polling was 57.96 per cent.

The details of performance of BJP are given ahead:

As against 161 seats secured by BJP, Indian National Congress (INC) secured 140 seats, Janata Dal 46 seats, CPM 32 seats and CPI 9 seats.

The 1996 General Election is a watershed in India's contemporary political history. The most significant aspect of this verdict is the removal of Indian National Congress from the Centre stage of national politics and the emergence of the BJP as the premier party. The party which had ruled for forty-five of the forty-nine years since independence was dethroned from its leading position. Hence forth the politics in the country will be bifurcated into two camps either friendly or hostile to the BJP.

Not only the BJP out beat all its opponents to become the largest single party in the Lok Sabha but it also contributed the highest number of women, SC and ST members to the Parliament. The BJP with 14 women MP heads the tally. There are in all 120 seats reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. BJP with 42 SC and ST MP's heads the party-wise list in Parliament. This shows the sweep of the party's popularity in all sections of the people.

The phenomenal growth of BJP in the last one decade is attributable to the ideological debate launched by the BJP on the real content of Indian secularism. The Cultural Nationalism advocated by BJP struck a positive chord with the people. The BJP's commitment to the construction of the Ram Temple at Ayodhya, its concern for India's security by opposing unchecked infiltration of Bangladeshi's into India and demand for the enactment of Uniform Civil Code based on the constitutional principles of gender equality and the right to life with dignity and repeal of the Article 370 of the Constitution and imposition of a ban on Cow-slaughter received massive support. This indicated an increased acceptability of BJP's ideology.

Congress steep fall in public esteem was contributed by a number of issues. The principal factor responsible for congress debacle was 'corruption' and lack of honesty and integrity in the

administration. Perpetuation of personal power even at the cost of his own party was Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao's prime objective. Nepotism and corruption were the hallmarks of his governance. The electorate gave a re-sounding defeat to this politics.

The 1996 was a mandate for Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee as against the leadership of Shri Narasimha Rao. While Shri Vajpayee personifies probity in public life, Shri Rao symbolises deviousness in politics.

**1996 Lok Sabha Elections – BJP's Performance
Eleventh Lok Sabha**

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1996	63.02	5.65	42	39	0
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	1996	55.04	17.41	2	2	0
3.	Assam	1996	78.50	15.92	14	14	1
4.	Bihar	1996	59.45	20.54	54	32	18
5.	Goa	1996	56.33	13.75	2	2	0
6.	Gujarat	1996	35.92	48.52	26	26	16
7.	Haryana	1996	70.48	19.74	10	6	4
8.	Himachal Pradesh	1996	57.58	39.62	4	4	0
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	1996	48.96	19.04	6	5	1
10.	Karnataka	1996	60.22	24.85	28	28	6
11.	Kerala	1996	71.11	5.61	20	18	0
12.	Madhya Pradesh	1996	54.06	41.32	40	39	27
13.	Maharashtra	1996	52.45	21.81	48	25	18
14.	Manipur	1996	75.04	5.25	2	2	0
15.	Meghalaya	1996	61.62	9.13	2	2	0
16.	Mizoram	1996	73.41	0	1	0	0
17.	Nagaland	1996	88.32	0	1	0	0
18.	Orissa	1996	59.22	13.42	21	20	0
19.	Punjab	1996	62.25	6.48	13	6	0

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
20.	Rajasthan	1996	43.40	42.36	25	25	12
21.	Sikkim	1996	77.43	0	1	0	0
22.	Tamil Nadu	1996	66.93	2.93	39	37	0
23.	Tripura	1996	79.09	6.50	2	2	0
24.	Uttar Pradesh	1996	46.50	33.44	85	83	52
25.	West Bengal	1996	82.66	6.88	42	42	0
26.	Andaman & Nicobar	1996	61.98	24.25	1	1	0
27.	Chandigarh	1996	58.41	39.05	1	1	1
28.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1996	76.95	42.42	1	1	0
29.	Daman & Diu	1996	70.66	40.45	1	1	0
30.	Delhi	1996	50.62	49.62	7	7	5
31.	Lakshadweep	1996	89.04	0	1	0	0
32.	Pondicherry	1996	75.35	4.42	1	1	0
Total				20.29	543	471	161

After this Election Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee formed the Government as Leader of the largest party in Parliament. This Government lasted for only 13 days. After this Shri Deve Gowda formed a United Front Government comprising 13 parties and supported by Congress from outside. The Congress supported UF Government was more a 'protection racket' than a proper governing outfit. Deve Gowda declared in Parliament that tackling corruption was no priority for his Government. This Government lacked direction and cohesion and also democratic mandate. Prime Minister belonged to a party that had only 46 members of Parliament. The basis which led to the formation of this Government was negative, sterile anti-BJP-ism. This could not lead to good governance and healthy politics. The leader of UF Government was changed at the dictates of the supporting party Congress. Shri I.K. Gujral took over as Prime Minister of the United Front Government. Even this 'head surgery' performed on the UF Government failed to add to its longevity and by December 1997 the end came on account of withdrawal of support by the Congress and the country moved towards the 1998 mid-term poll of Lok Sabha.

1998 Lok Sabha General Elections – Twelfth Lok Sabha

The collapse of two United Front Governments in 1997 caused the 1998 Lok Sabha General Election in early 1998. The Elections were held in all 543 Lok Sabha seats. BJP contested 388 seats as against 471 seats contested by it in 1996 General Election. It secured 182 seats and 25.59 per cent of votes. Thus, there was a significant increase both in the percentage of votes secured and seats secured despite the fact that in 1998 lesser number of seats were contested by BJP. The BJP won 24 Scheduled Caste seats and 14 Scheduled Tribes seats. 15 BJP women candidates also won the Election. This again demonstrated the hold of BJP amongst Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The details of the performance of BJP are given ahead:

The 1998 General Elections to the 12th Lok Sabha, which the BJP contested with Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee as its Prime Ministerial candidate, was a watershed in Indian Electoral history. For the first time a truly non-Congress national alternative to the party that has ruled India for 45 of its last 50 years, had emerged. The BJP added to its parliamentary strength and popular vote share. It expanded

both its social and geographical base.

The party increased its seats share from 161 in 1996 to 182 in 1998 and also its vote share from 20.3 per cent to 25.59 per cent. The Congress got only 141 seats against 140 secured by it in 1996, JD secured 3.24 per cent of votes and six seats. The biggest blow was suffered by the United Front, whose seat share was reduced to less than half from 183 to 86, CPM secured 5.16 per cent of votes and 32 seats while CPI got 1.75 per cent votes and 9 seats.

BJP performed well in UP, Bihar, MP, Karnataka, Gujarat, HP and Punjab. It broke new ground in Orissa, Tamil Nadu, AP and West Bengal. BJP was also able to establish an outpost in North-East. BJP gained from its tie-ups with its pre-poll allies and also made significant contribution to the gains of its allies.

Beyond the quantitative gains, the most significant qualitative gain has been the BJP success in breaking the shackles of political untouchability. Those, who sought to ostracise and isolate BJP in national politics by branding it as a communal party, have been isolated. The BJP had more friends and political allies than any other party, indicating its ever increasing acceptability.

In 1996, the pseudo-secularists were successful in ganging up against BJP and prevented the 13 days' Vajpayee Government from securing a vote of confidence, in 1998 they were in no position to indulge in subverting the mandate of 1998. This was primarily because, along with pre-election allies, BJP was able to secure a tally significantly higher than that of 1996 and only a trifle short of clear majority. The details are given below:

Performance of BJP Alliance Partners (12th Lok Sabha)

S.No.	Name of Party	Seats
1.	Bharatiya Janata Party	BJP 182
2.	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	ADMK 18
S.No.	Name of Party	Seats
3.	Biju Janata Dal	BJD 9
4.	Haryana Vikas Party	HVP 1
5.	Tamizhaga Rajiv Congress	TRC 1
6.	Janata Party	JP 1
7.	Lok Jan Shakti Party	LJNSP 3
8.	Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	MDMK 3

1998 Lok Sabha Elections — BJP's Performance
Twelfth Lok Sabha

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1998	66.00	18.30	42	38	4
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	1998	59.16	21.75	2	2	0
3.	Assam	1998	61.06	24.47	14	14	1
4.	Bihar	1998	64.63	24.03	54	32	20
5.	Goa	1998	61.16	30.04	2	2	0
6.	Gujarat	1998	59.30	48.28	26	26	19
7.	Haryana	1998	68.99	18.89	10	6	1
8.	Himachal Pradesh	1998	66.35	51.43	4	4	3
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	1998	44.21	28.64	6	6	2
10.	Karnataka	1998	64.92	26.95	28	18	13
11.	Kerala	1998	70.66	8.02	20	20	0
12.	Madhya Pradesh	1998	61.74	45.73	40	40	30
13.	Maharashtra	1998	57.11	22.49	48	25	4
14.	Manipur	1998	56.83	12.61	2	1	0
15.	Meghalaya	1998	74.38	9.01	2	2	0
16.	Mizoram	1998	69.56	2.94	1	1	0
17.	Nagaland	1998	45.41	0	1	0	0
18.	Orissa	1998	58.03	21.19	21	9	7
19.	Punjab	1998	60.07	11.67	13	3	3

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
20.	Rajasthan	1998	60.26	41.65	25	25	5
21.	Sikkim	1998	67.19	0	1	0	0
22.	Tamil Nadu	1998	57.95	6.86	39	5	3
23.	Tripura	1998	80.86	8.19	2	2	0
24.	Uttar Pradesh	1998	55.50	36.49	85	82	57
25.	West Bengal	1998	79.23	10.20	42	14	1
26.	Andaman & Nicobar	1998	63.66	35.53	1	1	0
27.	Chandigarh	1998	53.69	42.36	1	1	1
28.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1998	77.43	53.73	1	1	1
29.	Daman & Diu	1998	72.83	41.96	1	1	1
30.	Delhi	1998	51.29	50.73	7	7	6
31.	Lakshadweep	1998	85.10	0	1	0	0
32.	Pondicherry	1998	62.78	0	1	0	0
Total				25.59	543	388	182

9.	Pattali Makkal Katchi	PMK	4
10.	Shiromani Akali Dal	SAD	8
11.	Shiv Sena	SHS	6
12.	Samata Party	SAP	12
13.	West Bengal Trinamool Congress	WBTC	7
Total			255

Telugu Desam Party (TDP) with its 12. MPs' promised outside support to the BJP-led Alliance Government some others also extended support to the Alliance.

The Left did try to once again hijack the mandate, but failed miserably to cobble together yet another UF Congress compact.

A Government of National Democratic Alliance headed by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee assumed office. The BJP-led Government provided India with a riot-free year, scam-free Government and terrorism-free border states. It took several initiatives, two in particular were milestones. The first was Pokharan-II followed by Agni-II. This placed India firmly as an equal among the world's nuclear powers. The second was the historic bus journey to Lahore undertaken by Vajpayee. This opened a new chapter of peace and cooperation in the sub-continent's history. The economy started stabilising. GDP registered a growth of 6 per cent in 1998-99 as against 5 per cent in 1997-98. Inflation was kept under control and price line was held.

As a result of the initiatives taken by the Government, the Indian Society and Economy were stabilising; the nation was emerging strong and powerful; ethics had been restored to governance; and, the people had been made the first priority of the National Development Programme. It was in this situation that the Government was brought down. The Opposition had no issue to attack the Government. There was no reason to destabilise the polity and force a costly mid-term General Election on the people.

Three obvious factors colluded leading to the Government's defeat. Interests at home and abroad that were keen to halt India's march to strength and prosperity; interests that were keen to get power to rule the people without securing the people's mandate; and leaders and groups that were mortified by the progress that corruption cases against them were making. The Congress is the one,

which had directed the conspiracy and maneuvers to bring down the Government. The Left parties provided the Congress destabilisation game plan with an ideological cover. The casteist and criminal forces as symbolised by Laloo Prasad Yadav and Mulayam Singh Yadav provided the numbers. The AIADMK by betraying the Government of which it had throughout been a part, also betrayed the people of Tamil Nadu. Indeed, the entire exercise from pulling down the Government to failing to provide an alternative Government was nothing short of rank betrayal of the people's mandate.

The Congress has a history of destabilising the polity and creating instability. Whenever the people have rejected the Congress, whenever the Congress leadership has been denied the perks of office, it has exerted to subvert the mandate of the people. It has once again displayed both its greed for power, and its anxiety to grab office without obtaining a mandate from the people. Similarly, the Left has constantly betrayed the interests of India-be it in 1942, 1962, 1975 or now in 1999. Confined to the margins of national politics, the Left aspires for power without accountability, influence without responsibility. As a result of the conspiracy by these parties and interests, the Government was brought down when it had just completed thirteen months in office. A serving, performing Government was needlessly destabilised. In this ADMK, an alliance partner also played a dubious role.

1999 Lok Sabha General Elections – Thirteenth Lok Sabha

On account of the defeat of Government of National Democratic Alliance headed by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee by one vote and that too questionable, as one of the Congress MP, who had been sworn in as Chief Minister of a State, exercised his vote as MP against all norms of propriety and the inability of the Congress and other Opposition parties to form an alternative Government, the Twelfth Lok Sabha was dissolved and fresh General Elections to elect Thirteen Lok Sabha were held in 1999. This election was fought by BJP along with its allies on a Common Election Manifesto issued by National Democratic Alliance (NDA). The BJP contested only 339 seats as against 388 seats contested in 1998. The rest of the seats were left for allies of BJP in National Democratic Alliance. BJP secured 182 seats equivalent to the 1998 Elections and 23.73 per cent of votes.

The lesser percentage of votes secured was partly due to fall in the polling percentage and partly due to lesser number of seats contested by BJP. The pre-poll National Democratic Alliance received an absolute majority. The BJP secured 182 seats and its allies got 124 seats. Together the Alliance secured 306 seats in a house of 543. The Mandate of 1999 is, therefore, significant that for the first time after 1984 an incumbent Government was returned to power. It is also after 15 years that a pre-poll Alliance received an absolute majority. The poll also reflected popular support for federal character of the polity represented by National Democratic Alliance. The BJP had aligned with regional parties which no doubt contributed to the over all success. Regional parties as parts of NDA become important partners in the task of governance at the national level.

The Congress got only 114 seats with 28.30 percentage of votes besides 20 seats secured by its allies. JD (U) secured 21 seats with 3.10 percentage of votes, CPM got 33 seats with 5.40 percentage of votes and CPI got 4 seats with 1.48 percentage of votes.

The details of performance of BJP are given ahead:

The result of 1999 General Elections was satisfying for BJP. In Lok Sabha representatives of BJP were from every major State except Kerala. Out of 120 seats reserved for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes BJP secured 46 seats; 25 Scheduled Castes and 21 Scheduled Tribes. 15 women BJP MP were also elected. Thus, BJP was able to maintain its primacy in sending the largest number of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and women MP's to Lok Sabha amongst the parties.

The Congress which had ruled India for 45 years was reduced to its lowest ever parliamentary strength. If the mandate of 1999 was an expression of overwhelming faith in the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, it was also a strong rebuff to the negative politics of the Congress.

The Left parties were the other big losers in this election. The Left, so fond of moral posturing and self-righteousness, stood fully exposed before the people of India. Never one with national aspirations and always scornful of democratic processes, the Left first helped the Congress to bring down the previous Vajpayee Government and then tried to bring in a Congress Government through the back door. They failed in their dubious enterprise, but

that did not deter them from joining hands with those who had come to symbolise corruption. The Left contested the elections along with the Congress, the AIADMK and the RJD, abandoning whatever remains of the Third Front and dropping the fig leaf of ideology that they wore all these decades.

The details of the seat wise position of BJP and its allies are given below:

Performance of Alliance Partners (Lok Sabha 1999)

S.No.	Name of Party		Seats
1.	Bharatiya Janata Party	BJP	182
2.	Telugu Desam Party	TDP	29
3.	Assam (Sansuma K Bwismuthiary)	IND	1
4.	Janata Dal (United)	JD(U)	21
5.	Indian National Lok Dal	INDL	5
6.	Himachal Vikash Congress	HVC	1
7.	Jammu & Kashmir National Conference	JKN	4
8.	Shiv Sena	SHS	15
S.No.	Name of Party		Seats
9	Manipur State Congress Party	MSCP	1
10	Mizo National Front	MNF	1
11	Biju Janata Dal	BJD	10
12	Shiromani Akali Dal	SAD	2
13	Sikkim Democratic Front	SDF	1
14	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	DMK	12
15	Pattali Makkal Katchi	PMK	5
16	Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	MDMK	4
17	M.G.R. Anna D.M. Kazhagam	MADMK	1
18	Akhil Bharatiya Lok Tantrik Congress	ABLTC	2
19	Uttar Pradesh (Maneka Gandhi)	IND	1

1999 Lok Sabha Elections – BJP's Performance
Thirteenth Lok Sabha

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1999	69.14	9.90	42	8	7
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	1999	72.16	16.30	2	1	0
3.	Assam	1999	71.26	29.84	14	12	2
4.	Bihar	1999	61.48	23.01	54	29	23
5.	Goa	1999	45.11	51.49	2	2	2
6.	Gujarat	1999	47.03	52.48	26	26	20
7.	Haryana	1999	63.68	29.21	10	5	5
8.	Himachal Pradesh	1999	56.78	46.27	4	3	3
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	1999	32.34	31.56	6	6	2
10.	Karnataka	1999	67.58	27.19	28	19	7
11.	Kerala	1999	70.19	6.56	20	14	0
12.	Madhya Pradesh	1999	54.88	46.58	40	40	29
13.	Maharashtra	1999	60.94	21.18	48	26	13
14.	Manipur	1999	65.67	1.02	2	1	0
15.	Meghalaya	1999	56.16	9.45	2	2	0
16.	Mizoram	1999	65.31	0	1	0	0
17.	Nagaland	1999	76.25	5.12	1	1	0
18.	Orissa	1999	55.63	24.63	21	9	9
19.	Punjab	1999	56.11	9.16	13	3	1

S.No	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
20.	Rajasthan	1999	53.86	47.23	25	24	16
21.	Sikkim	1999	81.71	0	1	0	0
22.	Tamil Nadu	1999	57.98	7.14	39	6	4
23.	Tripura	1999	68.14	12.82	2	1	0
24.	Uttar Pradesh	1999	53.53	27.64	85	77	29
25.	West Bengal	1999	75.05	11.13	42	13	2
26.	Andaman & Nicobar	1999	59.46	52.74	1	1	1
27.	Chandigarh	1999	48.35	45.07	1	1	0
28.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1999	74.72	20.83	1	1	0
29.	Daman & Diu	1999	71.74	43.13	1	1	0
30.	Delhi	1999	43.54	51.75	7	7	7
31.	Lakshadweep	1999	80.21	0	1	0	0
32.	Pondicherry	1999	63.27	0	1	0	0
Total				23.75	543	339	182

Against this Congress secured 114 seats, and its allies secured twenty seats. The main allies of Congress were Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) in Bihar which secured seven seats, United Democratic Front UDF) in Kerala with three seats and All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (ADMK) in Tamil Nadu with ten seats.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee completed six years in office as India's Prime Minister. He is the first non-Congress Prime Minister to have accomplished this feat. Indeed of the 13 Prime Ministers that India has had prior to 2004, only two others Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi have served for longer tenure. This achievement is remarkable as Atalji led a large coalition of parties with diverse backgrounds and ideologies under his leadership NDA disproved the myth propagated by the Congress Party that coalition rule at the Centre is prescription for instability and that Congress alone can provide a stable Government.

The NDA Government used stability to strengthen the four main pillars of nation-building namely, national security, economic growth, social development and democracy. Many of its initiatives and achievements in these four areas are unprecedented and of historic significance.

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

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

The NDA Government introduced several pathbreaking policy changes and launched some of the most ambitious infrastructure and other development projects since Independence. The Rs. 54,000 crore National Highway Development Project; the Rs. 60,000 crore Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana; the Rs. 17,000

crore Special Railway Safety Fund; the Rs. 15,000 crore National Rural Vikas Yojana; the significant growth and improvement in port and airport infrastructure; the rapid growth in telecom services accompanied by dramatic fall in tariff; India's spectacular achievements in information technology; the impressive strides made in pharmaceuticals and bio-technology; the many successful initiatives to achieve energy security; and the bold and transparent steps to implement the policy of disinvestment were some of the examples of these initiatives. The NDA Government heralded a connectivity revolution in India. Telecom connectivity, Internet connectivity, highway connectivity and rural roads connectivity are visible successes of this Government.

In the area of social development, several initiatives were taken by NDA Government such as the Antyodaya Anna Yojana, which is the world's largest food security programme for the poor; Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and the related Constitutional Amendment to make elementary education a Fundamental Right; the unprecedented growth in housing construction through Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana, and Swajaldhara and Hariyali programmes for drinking water and water conservation.

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

The NDA Government had taken major initiatives to benefit agriculture, rural industries and small-scale enterprises, as was evident from the *Kisan* Credit Card scheme, consistent increases in minimum support prices, the steady expansion in the activities of the KVIC, and the special credit package to the SSI sector.

NDA Government kept the prices of essential commodities in check during the past five years.

India's overall economic growth steadily accelerated. In spite of many adverse conditions, both domestic and global India's macro-economic fundamental continue to be robust. Inflation was

firmly under control. The exports were rising steadily in a highly competitive international market. The forex reserves touched a record level. The manufacturing sector restructured itself and became globally competitive.

Thus in six years, NDA Government undertook several steps to transform the economy and to secure over all development. The reforms process was stepped up and foundation for accelerated growth was laid. In fact, Vajpayee Government transformed the face of India. India's competitive edge was enhanced and the country's economic and technological foundations were strengthened. The curbs on entrepreneurship were removed and the pernicious license permit *quota raj* that had shackled the country was dismantled. The democracy and federalism was strengthened.

2004 Lok Sabha General Elections – Fourteenth Lok Sabha

Thirteenth Lok Sabha was dissolved more than six months before the completion of its term and the General Elections for the Fourteen Lok Sabha took place in May 2004. BJP fought this election with its allies on 'An Agenda for Development, Good Governance, Peace and Harmony of National Democratic Alliance. BJP did not issue a separate Election Manifesto following the practice followed in 1999 Lok Sabha General Election. BJP, however announced a 'BJP Vision Document 2004' in which the party's core beliefs, basic commitments and BJP's priority agenda for five years and beyond were placed before the nation.

In the Elections to the Fourteenth Lok Sabha BJP and alliance suffered an unexpected setback contrary to expectations and assessment of one and all, including those who formed the Government. All the pre-poll elections surveys, all the exit polls and the analysis of almost all seasoned observers of the political scene had forecast that the National Democratic Alliance Government would get a renewed mandate. However, the people decided otherwise.

The BJP contested 364 seats and was able to secure 138 seats as against 182 seats secured by it in both 1998 and 1999 elections. The votes secured in 2004 were 22.16 per cent as against 23.75 per cent in 1999 and 25.59 per cent in 1998. BJP was successful in getting

18 Scheduled Caste, 15 Scheduled Tribes and 10 women members elected to Parliament.

BJP's performance was very impressive in states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka and Chhattisgarh. The party, however, suffered major reverses in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The details of BJP's performance in 2004 General Election are as given ahead:

The position of BJP and its allies in 2004 Lok Sabha General Elections is as given below:

BJP and its Allies

All India Winner Parties for Lok Sabha Election 2004

Name of Party		Seats won
Bharatiya Janata Party	BJP	138
Janata Dal (United)	JD(U)	8
Shiv Sena	SHS	12
Shiromani Akali Dal	SAD	8
Telugu Desam Party	TDP	5
Biju Janata Dal	BJD	11
All India Trinamool Congress	AITC	2
Mizo National Front	MNF	1
Nagaland Peoples Front	NPF	1
Independent	IND	1
Total		187

Against this the Congress and its allies secured 221 seats. The details are given below:

Congress Allies for Lok Sabha Election 2004

Name of Party		Seats won
Indian National Congress	INC	145
Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	DMK	16
Nationalist Congress Party	NCP	9
Telangana Rashtra Samithi	TRS	5
Pattali Makkal Katchi	PMK	6
Marumalarchi Deravida		
Munnetra Kazhagam	MDMK	4
Rashtriya Janata Dal	RJD	24

Lok Jan Shakti Party	LJSP	4
Jammu & Kashmir Peoples		
Democratic Party	JKPDP	1
Muslim League Kerala State Committee	MUL	1
Republican Party of India(A)	RPI(A)	1
Independent	IND	5
Total		221

Besides this, the Congress was also able to garner outside support of various parties. The details are given below:

Outside support

Name of Party		Seats
Communist Party of India (Marxist)	CPM	43
Communist Party of India	CPI	10
All India Forward Bloc	AIFB	3
Revolutionary Socialist Party	RSP	3
Samajwadi Party	SP	36
Rashtriya Lok Dal	RLD	3
Bahujan Samaj Party	BSP	19
Janata Dal (Secular)	JD(S)	3
Total		120

2004 Lok Sabha Elections — BJP's Performance
Fourteenth Lok Sabha

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Andhra Pradesh	2004	69.95	8.41	42	9	0
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	2004	56.24	53.85	2	2	2
3.	Assam	2004	69.11	22.94	14	12	2
4.	Bihar	2004	56.89	14.57	40	16	5
5.	Chhattisgarh	2004	52.09	47.78	11	11	10
6.	Goa	2004	58.75	46.83	2	2	1
7.	Gujarat	2004	45.18	47.37	26	26	14
8.	Haryana	2004	65.72	17.21	10	10	1
9.	Himachal Pradesh	2004	59.71	44.24	4	4	1
10.	Jammu & Kashmir	2004	35.25	23.04	6	6	0
11.	Jharkhand	2004	55.69	33.01	14	14	1
12.	Karnataka	2004	64.96	34.77	28	24	18
13.	Kerala	2004	71.45	10.38	20	19	0
14.	Madhya Pradesh	2004	48.09	48.13	29	29	25
15.	Maharashtra	2004	54.38	22.61	48	26	13
16.	Manipur	2004	67.41	20.65	2	2	0
17.	Meghalaya	2004	52.72	8.63	2	1	0
18.	Mizoram	2004	63.48	0	1	0	0
19.	Nagaland	2004	91.77	0	1	0	0

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes % secured	No. of Seats in Lok Sabha	Seats contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
20.	Orissa	2004	66.06	19.30	21	9	7
21.	Punjab	2004	61.59	10.48	13	3	3
22.	Rajasthan	2004	49.97	49.01	25	25	21
23.	Sikkim	2004	77.95	0	1	0	0
24.	Tamil Nadu	2004	60.81	5.07	39	6	0
25.	Tripura	2004	67.25	7.82	2	1	0
26.	Uttar Pradesh	2004	48.16	22.17	80	77	10
27.	Uttaranchal	2004	48.08	40.98	5	5	3
28.	West Bengal	2004	78.04	8.06	42	13	0
29.	Andaman & Nicobar	2004	63.66	35.95	1	1	0
30.	Chandigarh	2004	51.14	35.22	1	1	0
31.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	2004	69.04	15.56	1	1	0
32.	Daman & Diu	2004	70.16	48.42	1	1	0
33.	Delhi	2004	47.09	40.67	7	7	1
34.	Lakshadweep	2004	81.51	0	1	0	0
35.	Pondicherry	2004	76.07	35.65	1	1	0
Total				22.16	543	364	138

Thus the Congress, its allies and outside support together were able to get 341 seats in Lok Sabha

The Congress secured 26.53 per cent votes in 2004 General Elections as against 28.30 per cent votes in 1999 Elections. Thus, there was a swing of 1.77 per cent away from Congress. Despite this, the Congress secured 145 seats as against 114 seats in 1999 Elections. CPI got 1.41 per cent votes and 10 seats, CPM 5.66 per cent votes and 43 seats, NCP 1.80 per cent votes and 32 seats.

There were two notable features of the Elections to the 14th Lok Sabha. The verdict was one of most fractured and indecisive mandate till date. The second feature was the emergence of the first Congress-led coalition Government. The UPA Government at the Centre, is however, a combination based on expediency and opportunism.

Lok Sabha 2004 General Election was a major setback for BJP. The steady advance of the BJP in the Lok Sabha from 2 seats in 1984 to 182 seats in 1999 was both halted and reversed. The BJP also lost its position as the largest party in the Lok Sabha.

BJP led NDA fought the election on the assumptions that there is a direct correlation between good governance and the electoral outcome and on the strengthen of the inspired leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and its record in Government. These assumptions did not prove entirely correct.

Unfortunately, good governance in a country as large and diverse as India does not generate a uniform effect. In focusing on the big picture NDA was guilty of over looking some details.

BJP-led Government was not sufficiently attentive to the human costs of rapid change. In making India globally competitive it fell short of providing an adequate cushion to communities that were overwhelmed by both technology and market.

In seeking to ride the crest of change, the Government offended those who felt left out. They were unmoved by the assertion that 'India is shining'. In the course of BJP's voyage from the fringe to the centre of the political state BJP aroused many expectations, some extremely emotive. BJP was unable to fulfil some of these. The construction of a grand temple honouring Lord Rama at his birth place in Ayodhya was one such issue.

BJP also failed to move its *Karyakartas* sufficiently and

uniformly. There were innumerable complaints from grass-roots *Karyakartas* about the behaviour and style of some party functionaries during the time BJP was in power at the centre. There were charges of arrogance, aloofness, cronyism, over dependence on money power and even corruption.

All these factors influenced the result of 2004 General Elections. As the Congress and its allies with outside support of Left Front and others were able to garner sufficient majority a Government of United Progressive Alliance (UPA) assumed office under Dr. Manmohan Singh as Prime Minister.



Chapter-V

Performance of BJP in Assembly General Elections

After Lok Sabha General Elections held in 1977, the Janata Government assumed office. In nine states, where the Congress had suffered decisive defeat the State Assemblies were dissolved and Presidents Rule imposed. These States were Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, West Bengal and Punjab. Elections were held in these States along with States where elections were due such as Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry and Delhi. In all these states, Congress lost elections. In Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, Janata Party formed the Government. Jana Sangh was part of Janata Party. The Janata Party had alliance with Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) and CPM in 1977 Lok Sabha Elections. SAD formed Government in Punjab and CPM-led Alliance in West Bengal. In Tamil Nadu, All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (ADMK) formed the Government.

In 1978, Elections were held for some other State Assemblies. Janata Party won elections in Assam and formed Government.

1980 Assembly General Election

After return to power at the Centre in 1980 Smt. Indira Gandhi dissolved the State Assemblies where Janata Party had governments.



This necessitated Assembly Elections. Janata Party had split and Bharatiya Janata Party had been launched. BJP fought these elections on its own symbol. The states where Assembly Elections were held during 1980 were Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar, Goa, Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Orissa, Pondicherry. Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh.

BJP contested Assembly Elections in Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh.

The performance of BJP in these States Assembly Elections is given below:

BJP Performance – 1980 Assembly General Elections

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of seats contested	Seat contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Bihar	1980	57.28	1891325	324	246	21
2.	Gujarat	1980	48.37	1090652	182	127	9
3.	Madhya Pradesh	1980	49.03	3665201	320	310	60
4.	Maharashtra	1980	53.30	1645734	288	145	14
5.	Orissa	1980	47.08	86421	147	28	0
6.	Punjab	1980	64.33	405106	117	41	1
7.	Rajasthan	1980	51.06	1721321	200	123	32
8.	Tamil Nadu	1980	65.42	13091	234	10	0
9.	Uttar Pradesh	1980	44.92	2777711	425	400	11

The BJP was launched just a few weeks before the issue of the Assembly poll notifications. It had to go to the hustings without even a proper party infrastructure. There was acute shortage of resources which severely handicapped BJP’s election campaign. Notwithstanding this, the BJP emerged as the first among opposition

parties in the country both in terms of seats as well as of popular votes.

The verdict of the Assembly Elections was essentially an extension of the Lok Sabha Election results. Largely as a result of their disappointment with the squabbles and infighting in the Janata party, the people voted in both these elections for the Congress (I). Thus like the Lok Sabha Election verdict the Assembly Verdict too was more of a negative vote than any positive endorsement of the Congress (I). As compared to its own performance in the Lok Sabha polls, the Congress (I) suffered a setback. In January, 1980 it had won 1520 Assembly segments in Lok Sabha Elections in the nine states. This time it won 1375 Assembly seats, that is, a drop of about 10 per cent. This drop is despite the greater fragmentation of opposition votes compared to Lok Sabha elections

1982 Assembly General Elections

In 1982, Assembly Elections were held in five states – Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, West Bengal and Nagaland.

The details of BJP's performance are given below:

1982 Assembly General Elections – BJP's Performance

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of seats contested	Seat won by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Haryana	1982	69.87	376604	90	24	6
2.	Himachal Pradesh	1982	71.06	545037	68	67	29
3.	Kerala	1982	73.51	263331	140	69	0
4.	Nagaland	1982	74.44	0	60	0	0
5.	West Bengal	1982	76.96	129994	294	52	0

In Haryana, Congress (I) secured 36 seats and 37.6 per cent votes. Lok Dal secured 31 seats and 23.9% and BJP secured 6 seats and 7.7. per cent votes.

In Himachal Pradesh, Congress secured 31 seats and 42.5 per cent votes and BJP secured 29 seats and 35.2 per cent votes. In West Bengal, Left Front secured absolute majority while in Kerala Congress-led alliance succeeded.

BJP's performance in Himachal Pradesh was remarkable.

Congress (I) performance showed erosion in its popularity out of 615 seats for which elections were held the Congress (I) was able to win only 144. The approach adopted for these elections by BJP was sound and where results were short of expectations it had been either because of the difficulties inherent in the situation as in West Bengal and Kerala or of organisational short-comings rather than the approach adopted.

1983 Assembly General Elections

In 1983, Assembly Elections were held in seven states/union territories. These were Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Delhi, Jammu & Kashmir, Karnataka, Meghalaya, Tripura. BJP did not contest any seat in Assam and Meghalaya.

In Assam, the law and order situation was not normal for holding a free and fair election. Smt. Indira Gandhi was, however, determined to hold an election despite protest from within Assam as well as all over the country because she was aware that under normal conditions she had no chance of winning the elections in Assam. The Election Commission also abdicated its responsibility and took shelter under the plea of constitutional compulsions and a desire not to create by its action 'a constitutional vacuum'.

The performance of BJP in 1983 elections is as given below:

1983 Assembly General Elections – BJP's Performance

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of Seats contested	Seat won by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1983	67.70	582464	294	80	3
2.	Delhi	1983	55.46	666605	56	50	19
3.	Jammu & Kashmir	1983	73.24	70193	76	27	0
4.	Karnataka	1983	65.67	1024892	224	110	18
5.	Tripura	1983	83.03	578	60	4	0

In Andhra Pradesh, BJP secured 3 seats and 2.8 per cent of votes. In Delhi, BJP contested 50 seats and secured 19 seats and 37 per cent of votes. In Karnataka, BJP secured 18 seats and 7.9 per cent votes. In Jammu & Kashmir and Tripura, BJP did not get any seat.

The BJP's performance in this round of Assembly Elections,

though not speculator, was a clear pointer to its growing strength. In Karnataka, the party had increased its Assembly strength from 4 to 18 seats. In Andhra Pradesh while all other national parties suffered erosion or eclipse, the BJP was able to maintain its strength. In Delhi, the performance could have been better. In 1980, the difference between the popular votes of Congress (I) and the undivided Janata Party was 13 per cent. In 1983 election, the margin between the Congress (I) and BJP was reduced to a mere 3 per cent. If all the opposition parties had joined together to fight the election in Delhi, it would have been possible to oust Congress (I) from Delhi. Janata Party's response was, however, negative, its campaign was directed more against BJP than against the Congress(I).

1985 Assembly General Elections

In 1985, Assembly Elections were held in 14 States/UT. BJP did not contest elections in Sikkim but it contested election in the other 13 States, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Pondicherry, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. The performance of BJP in these elections is given below:

1985 Assembly General Elections – BJP's Performance

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of Seats contested	Seat won by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1985	67.57	372978	294	10	8
2.	Assam	1985	79.21	79068	126	37	0
3.	Bihar	1985	56.27	1833275	324	234	16
4.	Gujarat	1985	48.82	1379120	182	124	11
5.	Himachal Pradesh	1985	70.36	502252	68	57	7
6.	Karnataka	1985	67.25	571280	224	116	2
7.	Madhya Pradesh	1985	49.85	4606133	320	312	58
8.	Maharashtra	1985	59.17	1590351	288	67	16
9.	Orissa	1985	52.27	204346	147	67	1
10.	Pondicherry	1985	78.39	158	30	3	0
11.	Punjab	1985	67.53	345560	117	26	6
12.	Rajasthan	1985	54.93	2437594	200	118	39
13.	Sikkim	1985	64.13	0	32	0	0
14.	Uttar Pradesh	1985	45.64	2890884	425	347	16

In Andhra Pradesh, BJP secured 8 seats and 1.6 per cent of votes against 3 seats and 2.8 per cent of votes secured in 1983. The percentage of votes secured in 1983 was higher because BJP contested 80 seats as against 10 seats contested in 1985. The BJP, thus, improved its position. BJP had seat adjustment with Telugu Desam. This helped BJP. The Congress suffered a setback because it secured only 50 seats against 60 seats secured by it in 1983 Assembly Elections. Telugu Desam Party (TDP) secured 202 seats and 46.2 per cent of votes and formed the Government.

In Bihar, BJP secured 16 seats and 7.5 per cent of votes as against 21 seats and 8.4 per cent of votes secured in 1980 Assembly Elections. The Congress secured 196 seats as against 169 secured by it in 1980. Only Janata Dal secured 46 seats amongst the Opposition parties. The position of BJP was third in order of seats secured as against fourth in 1980 elections. The Congress formed the Government.

In Gujarat, BJP slightly improved its position. It secured 11 seats and 15 per cent votes as against 9 seats and 14 per cent of votes in 1980. Congress secured 149 seats and formed the Government.

In Himachal Pradesh, BJP suffered a setback. It secured only 7 seats and 30.6 per cent of votes against 29 seats and 35.2 per cent votes in 1982 Assembly elections. In this state instead of contesting all seats BJP went for seat adjustment with Janata Party. This, however, did not work. Congress secured 58 seats and 55.5 per cent of votes as against 31 seats and 42.5 per cent of votes secured by it in 1982. The Congress formed the Government.

In Karnataka also, BJP suffered a setback. BJP secured only 2 seats and 3.7 per cent of votes against 18 seats and 7.9 per cent of votes secured by it in 1983. Congress also lost some seats. It secured 66 seats as against 82 secured by it in 1983. Janata Party improved its position by securing 137 seats and 43.9 per cent votes as against 95 seats and 33.1 per cent votes in 1983 and formed the Government. The failure in Karnataka was on account of inability of BJP to correctly estimate its strength. BJP asked for 32 seats from the Janata Party – 18 seats for sitting MLA's and 14 seats for those in which BJP candidates were in the second place. Janata Party was reluctant and proposed to give only 28 seats. This was not accepted by BJP and it decided to fight the election without seat adjustment with Janata Party.

In Madhya Pradesh, BJP was able to maintain its earlier position. BJP won 58 seats and secured 32.4 per cent of votes as against 60 seats and 30.3 per cent votes in 1980. The Congress marginally improved its position by securing 250 seats as against 246 seats won by it in 1980. BJP continued to be the main Opposition party. The Congress formed the Government.

In Maharashtra, BJP improved its position by securing 16 seats and 7.3 per cent of votes as against 14 seats and 9.4 per cent of votes secured in 1980. The higher percentage of votes in 1980 was mainly due to BJP contesting 145 seats as against 67 contested by it in 1985. Congress secured 162 seats and 44.5 per cent of votes against 186 seats and 44.5 per cent of votes secured by it in 1980. The Congress formed the Government.

In Orissa BJP won only 1 seat and 2.6 per cent of votes as against no seat and 1.4 per cent of votes in 1980. Congress formed the Government with 117 seats and 51.1 per cent of votes.

In Punjab also, BJP won only one seat and 6.5 per cent votes. BJP had not contested the election in this state in 1980.

In Rajasthan, BJP improved its position by securing 39 seats and 21.2 per cent of votes against 32 seats and 18.6 per cent of votes secured by it in 1980. The Congress secured 113 seats as against 133 secured by it in 1980. The Congress formed the Government with BJP as the main opposition.

In Uttar Pradesh, the BJP improved its position by securing 16 seats and 9.9 per cent against 11 seats and 10.8 per cent votes in 1980. In 1980, BJP had contested 400 seats against 347 contested by it in 1985. This explains slightly higher percentage of votes secured in 1980. The Congress secured 269 seats against 309 secured by it in 1980. The Congress formed the Government.

In the Assembly Elections held in 1985 Congress (I) lost Andhra, Karnataka and Sikkim. In Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, its performance was considerably below the mark it had reached in 1980.

This confirmed the conclusion that in the Lok Sabha Elections in December, 1984 the massive electoral support to the Congress (I) was the result of the brutal murder of Smt. Indira Gandhi, which generated a wave of sympathy and also a fear of what might happen in future. This support could not be considered as a support for the

policies of Congress (I) Government and its performance.

The fact that within 67 days there was such a great change in the attitude of the people, is a proof that the ordinary voter who exercises his or her franchise is intelligent and can make a distinction between All India elections and State elections, and between the issues involved in the two. The electorate had removed the imbalance that had developed in the Indian Democracy, to a considerable extent by using its franchise in the right way in these State Assembly Elections.

In the BJP session held in 1980 at Bombay, it was felt that BJP should develop as an alternative to the Congress (I). But after five years in the Parliament, the party had reached its 1952 position. In respect of the Assemblies, position was not much better than that of 1980. In view of this, the National Executive of BJP in its meeting at Calcutta held on 15-17 March, 1985 decided to set up a Working Group to prepare a report after a detailed study and widespread mass contact, on the party organisation, its programme, its strategy etc for the next five years.

1987 Assembly General Elections

In 1987, Assembly Elections took place in six states – Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Mizoram, Nagaland and West Bengal. BJP did not contest elections in Mizoram. The performance of BJP in other states is as given below:

1987 Assembly General Elections – BJP's Performance

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of Seats contested	Seat won by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Haryana	1987	71.24	613819	90	20	16
2.	Jammu & Kashmir	1987	74.88	132528	76	29	2
3.	Kerala	1987	80.54	708261	140	116	0
4.	Mizoram	1987	74.80	0	40	0	0
5.	Nagaland	1987	84.53	926	60	2	0
6.	West Bengal	1987	75.69	134867	294	57	0

In Haryana, the elections were preceded by an agitation lasting two year under the aegis of 'Haryana Sangharsh Samiti' formed by

the Lok Dal-BJP Alliance. The Congress wanted to win Haryana Assembly Elections at all costs. That is why the Haryana Assembly Elections were not held in March 1987 along with the elections to the Assemblies of Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala and West Bengal and were postponed until a favourable climate was created for the Congress. The Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi announced a grant of Rs. 400 crores for the development plans of Haryana just before the Assembly Elections. The Eradi Commission Report relating to river-water dispute, which was received long back was published and in Punjab, Barnala Government was dismissed and President's Rule imposed just on the eve of Haryana Elections. It is evident that all this was done to appease the voters of Haryana.

The BJP contested the election in alliance with Lok Dal and set up candidates in 20 seats. The Lok Dal contested 69 seats. The BJP won 16 seats and secured 10.1 per cent of votes against 6 seats and 7.7 per cent votes in 1982 elections. While Lok Dal won 60 seats and 38.6% votes against 31 seats and 23.9 per cent votes in 1982 Elections. The Congress, despite all efforts to mislead voters was defeated. The Congress secured only 5 seats out of 90 seats contested by it and 29.2 per cent of votes as against 36 seats and 37.6 per cent votes in 1982 Elections. Devi Lal of Lok Dal formed the Government.

In Jammu and Kashmir State, BJP won 2 seats and secured 5.1 per cent of votes against nil seat and 3.2 per cent of votes in 1983 Elections. This elections was fought by Congress (I) in alliance with National Conference. The Congress won 26 seats and 20.2 per cent votes as against 26 seats and 30.3 per cent votes secured by it in 1983. The Jammu & Kashmir National Conference won 40 seats and 33 per cent of votes as against 46 seats and 47.3 per cent of votes in 1983 Elections. The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference formed the Government with Farooq Abdullah as the Chief Minister.

In Kerala, there was considerable resentment among the Hindus against the Congress-led Government's appeasement policy towards the minorities in the hope of getting bulk votes in alliance with the Muslim League. During his election tour, Shri Rajiv Gandhi had invited Christian missionaries to the 'Raj Nivas' in a bid to enlist their support for the Congress. This also had its reaction. The general sentiment of the people was against the Congress, and they looked upon the CPM led Left Front as the only alternative. The Left Front, thus, got the benefit of people's resentment. The Bharatiya Janata

Party had put up 115 candidates in cooperation with the Hindu Munnani. BJP got a total of over 7,08,261 votes which was three times the votes polled by BJP in the previous election. But BJP could not win any seat in the Assembly. In three constituencies, namely, Kasargod, Manjeshwaram and Trivandrum (Thiruvananthapuram) East, BJP candidates got the second position, polling 27,350; 27,107 and 23,835 votes respectively. In 20 other constituencies, BJP candidates got more than 10,000 votes each. In almost all the remaining constituencies, they got more than 5,000 votes each. BJP, however, failed to achieve its objective to enter the Assembly, yet BJP undoubtedly improved its position. Whereas in 1982 BJP had secured 2.8 per cent of the votes in 1987 it secured 5.6 per cent.

CPM-led Left Front won the Elections and E.K. Nayanar formed the Government.

In Nagaland, BJP put up two candidates for the first time on BJP Election symbol for the Nagaland Assembly elections. One of them Shri P. Pious Lotha, Convenor, Nagaland State BJP contested from Sanis Assembly Constituency and the other Shri Yaniong Konyak from Mon Assembly Constituency. It was not an easy task to fight this election against immense financial resources of the Congress (I) and other parties and their muscle power. Both the candidates polled very few votes. Shri Lotha polled 136 votes and Shri Konyak 797 votes only. But the BJP candidates faced the elections bravely against many odds.

In West Bengal, the Congress leaders sought to make much of the Gorkhaland issue. As a result, the performance of the State Government during the preceding five years was pushed into the background. The issue in the election became, not whether the CPM Government deserved a fresh mandate on the basis of its record, but whether West Bengal should be ruled by Shri Jyoti Basu or Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The polarisation of votes between these two parties was so marked that there was hardly any chance left for any other party or candidate to win in this election. The Congress was routed. CPM-led Front got a massive majority. Of the 65 candidates set up by the BJP in West Bengal, 53 came third. Yet, the number of votes polled by them was not much. This is because BJP's State Unit was weak.

Jyoti Basu of Communist Party (Marxist) formed the Government for the third term.

1988 Assembly General Elections

In 1988, Assembly Elections were held in two states – Meghalaya and Tripura. BJP did not contest any seat in Meghalaya. It did not win any seat in Tripura.

1988 Assembly General Elections – BJP's Performance

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of Seats contested	Seat contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Meghalaya	1988	77.51	0	60	0	0
2.	Tripura	1988	85.75	1757	60	10	0

1989 Assembly General Elections

In 1989, Assembly Elections were held in eight states, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Goa, Karnataka, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu and Utter Pradesh. The performance of BJP is as given below:

1989 Assembly General Elections – BJP's Performance

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of Seats contested	Seat contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1989	70.44	512305	294	12	5
2.	Goa	1989	72.47	1985	40	7	0
3.	Karnataka	1989	67.57	755032	224	118	4
4.	Mizoram	1989	81.30	0	40	0	0
5.	Nagaland	1989	85.65	0	60	0	0
6.	Sikkim	1989	72.28	0	32	0	0
7.	Tamil Nadu	1989	69.69	84865	234	31	0
8.	Uttar Pradesh	1989	51.43	4522867	425	275	57

In Andhra Pradesh Assembly Elections, the BJP contested 12 seats. It won 5 seats and 1.8 per cent of votes against 8 seats and 1.6 per cent of votes secured by it in 1985 elections. Congress improved its position by securing 181 seats and 47.1 per cent of votes as against 50 seats and 37.5 per cent votes in 1985. Telugu Desam suffered a setback as it got only 74 seats and 36.8 per cent of votes against 202

seats and 46.2 per cent of votes in 1985. The Congress formed the Government.

In Karnataka, BJP improved its position by securing 4 seats and 4.0 per cent of votes as against 2 seats and 3.7 per cent of votes in 1985. Congress secured 178 seats and 43.8 per cent of votes against 66 seats and 41.1 per cent of votes secured in 1985. Janata Dal secured 24 seats and 27.3 per cent votes. Janata Party secured only 2 seats and 11.3 per cent votes. Congress formed the Government.

In Tamil Nadu, BJP did not get any seat and secured only 0.4 per cent votes. DMK with 151 seats and 33.3 per cent votes formed the Government.

In Uttar Pradesh, BJP improved its position. As against 11 seats and 10.8 per cent votes in 1980, 16 seats and 9.9 per cent votes in 1985, BJP won 57 seats and secured 11.6 per cent votes even though it had contested only 275 seats in 1989 against 347 in 1985 and 400 in 1980. Janata Dal with 208 seats and 29.7 per cent votes formed the Government.

1990 Assembly General Elections

In 1990 Assembly Elections were held in 10 states – Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Orissa, Pondicherry and Rajasthan. The performance of BJP in these states is as given below:

1990 Assembly General Elections – BJP's Performance

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of Seats contested	Seat contested by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Arunachal Pradesh	1990	72.84	0	60	0	0
2.	Bihar	1990	62.04	3722704	324	239	39
3.	Gujarat	1990	52.20	3386256	182	143	67
4.	Himachal Pradesh	1990	67.75	858518	68	51	46
5.	Madhya Pradesh	1990	54.19	7779942	320	269	220
6.	Maharashtra	1990	62.26	3180482	288	104	42
7.	Manipur	1990	81.50	18549	60	16	0
8.	Orissa	1990	56.63	390060	147	63	2
9.	Pondicherry	1990	72.40	2154	30	8	0
10.	Rajasthan	1990	57.09	3744945	200	128	85

In Arunachal Pradesh Assembly Elections, BJP did not contest any seat.

In Bihar, BJP improved its position. BJP won 39 seats and secured 11.6 per cent votes against 16 seats and 7.5 per cent votes in 1985 and 21 seats and 8.4 per cent votes in 1980. Congress secured only 70 seats and 24.7 per cent as against 196 seats and 39.3 per cent in 1985. Janata Dal secured 123 seats with 25.7 per cent votes and formed the Government with support of other parties.

In Gujarat also, BJP improved its position by securing 67 seats and 26.7 per cent votes against 11 seats and 15.0 per cent votes in 1985. Congress suffered a major setback. It secured only 33 seats and 30.7 per cent votes against 149 seats and 55.5 per cent votes in 1985. Janata Dal secured 70 seats and 29.4 per cent votes. Chimanbhai Patel of Janata Dal formed a coalition Government of which BJP was also a constituent.

In Himachal Pradesh, BJP secured an absolute majority. BJP won 46 seats and 41.8 per cent votes against 7 seats and 30.6 per cent votes in 1985 and 29 seats and 35.2 per cent votes in 1982. Congress suffered a major defeat. It secured only 9 seats with 36.5 per cent votes against 58 seats and 55.5 per cent votes secured by it in 1985. BJP formed the Government with Shanta Kumar as the Chief Minister.

In Madhya Pradesh, BJP secured absolute majority by getting 220 seats and 39.1 per cent votes against 58 seats and 32.4 per cent votes in 1985. Congress was able to get only 56 seats and 33.4 per cent votes against 250 seats and 48.9 per cent votes it secured in 1985. BJP formed the Government with Sunderlal Patwa as the Chief Minister.

In Maharashtra, BJP won 42 seats with 10.7 per cent votes as against 16 seats and 7.3 per cent votes in 1985 and 14 seats and 9.4 per cent votes in 1980. Congress secured 141 seats with 38.2 per cent votes as against 162 seats and 43.5 per cent votes in 1985. Shiv Sena (SHS) secured 52 seats and 15.9 per cent votes. Shiv Sena and BJP together had 94 seats. The Congress formed the Government.

In Manipur and Pondicherry, BJP did not win any seat.

In Orissa, BJP won 2 seats and 3.6 per cent votes as against 1 seat and 2.6 per cent votes in 1985. Congress suffered a setback. It secured only 10 seats and 29.8 per cent votes against 117 seats and 51.1 per cent votes in 1985. Janata Dal secured 123 seats and 53.7 per cent of votes and Bijju Pattnaik, Janata Dal leader formed the

Government.

In Rajasthan, BJP won 85 seats and secured 38.4 per cent of votes as against 39 seats and 21.2 per cent votes in 1985 and 32 seats and 8.6 per cent of votes in 1980. Congress secured only 50 seats and 33.6 per cent votes as against 113 seats and 46.6 per cent votes in 1985. Janata Dal secured 55 seats and 21.6 per cent votes. Bhairon Singh Shekhawat of BJP formed the Government with the support of other parties.

The Assembly Elections in 1990 are a significant milestone in Indian political history. 1977 marked the ouster of Congress from the Centre and many states. It aroused hopes that the Indian polity was perhaps moving towards bipolarity. 1990, however, confirmed that in India a neat two-party system was not feasible and that a prolonged phase of multi-party politics would dominate. Janata Dal had formed Central Government at New Delhi with the support of BJP and Communist. It was also controlling five State Governments, one of these in a coalition with BJP.

The Congress ruled in four states. The BJP had Chief Ministers in three states and shared power with JD in a fourth. The Marxists too were ruling two states. There were besides two regional parties Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) controlling their respective states.

1991 Assembly General Elections

In 1991, Assembly Elections were held in seven states — Assam, Haryana, Kerala, Pondicherry, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. BJP's performance in these states is given below:

1991 Assembly General Election — BJP's Performance

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of Seats contested	Seat won by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Assam	1991	74.67	548271	126	48	10
2.	Haryana	1991	65.86	582850	90	89	2
3.	Kerala	1991	73.42	674525	140	137	0
S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of Seats contested	Seat won by BJP	Seats won by BJP

4.	Pondicherry	1991	67.73	3045	30	12	0
5.	Tamil Nadu	1991	63.84	419229	234	99	0
6.	Uttar Pradesh	1991	51.43	11770214	424	415	221
7.	West Bengal	1991	76.80	3513121	294	291	0

BJP established a foothold for the first time in Assam by winning 10 seats and 6.7 per cent of votes. BJP had not contested the elections in 1983. In 1985, BJP did not win any seat and secured 1.1 per cent votes. Since Independence Congress had been in power in the state except 1978 when it lost to Janata Party and in 1985 when Asom Gana Parishad won and formed the Government. In this election, Congress secured 66 seats and 29.2 per cent votes as against 25 seats and 23.2 per cent votes in 1985.

In Haryana, BJP won only 2 seats and 9.4 per cent of votes against 16 seats and 10.1 per cent votes in 1987.

In Kerala, Pondicherry, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal, BJP did not win any seat. In fact, BJP has weak organisation and support in these states. In West Bengal BJP, however, improved its vote share to 11.3 per cent as against 0.5 per cent in 1987 and 0.6 per cent in 1982.

In Uttar Pradesh, BJP secured a major victory by winning 221 seats and 31.5 per cent votes which constituted an absolute majority against 57 seats and 11.6 per cent votes in 1989, 16 seats and 9.9 per cent votes in 1985, and 11 seats and 10.8 per cent votes in 1980. Congress suffered a setback. It secured only 46 seats and 17.4 per cent votes. Janata Dal secured 92 seats and 18.8 per cent votes. BJP formed the Government with Kalyan Singh as the Chief Minister.

1992 Assembly General Elections

In 1992, Assembly Elections were held only in Punjab State. The performance of BJP is given ahead:

1992 Assembly General Elections – BJP's Performance

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of Seats contested	Seat won by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Punjab	1992	23.82	495161	117	66	6

BJP won 6 seats and 16.5 per cent votes against 6 seats and 5 per cent votes in 1989 and 1 seat and 6.5 per cent votes in 1985. Congress won 87 seats and 43.8 per cent votes and formed the Government.

1993 Assembly General Elections

In 1993, Assembly Elections were held in 9 States/UT. These are Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Rajasthan, Tripura and Uttar Pradesh. The performance of BJP is given below:

1993 Assembly General Elections – BJP's Performance

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of Seats contested	Seat won by BJP	Seats won by BJP
1.	Delhi	1993	61.75	1520675	70	70	49
2.	Himachal Pradesh	1993	71.50	840233	68	68	8
3.	Madhya Pradesh	1993	60.66	9188602	320	320	117
4.	Meghalaya	1993	79.52	29948	60	20	0
5.	Mizoram	1993	80.75	10004	40	8	0
6.	Nagaland	1993	91.53	2561	60	6	0
7.	Rajasthan	1993	60.59	6498330	200	196	95
8.	Tripura	1993	81.18	27078	60	38	0
9.	Uttar Pradesh	1993	57.13	16637720	424	422	177

The elections in 1993 in Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh were necessitated because the BJP Governments in these states were dismissed in December 1992 in the wake of demolition of disputed structure at Ayodhya and imposition of President's rule.

The 1993 Assembly Elections had following noteworthy features:

The BJP polled 36.14 per cent of the total votes in these states and emerged as the single largest party. The votes in the State Assembly Elections was 10 per cent more than that of the Congress Party and 22 per cent more than the JD. These elections, thus, firmly established that the BJP was the principal pole of Indian politics.

The BJP had won 40.18 per cent of the total seats in the Assembly Elections, much higher than the other parties. In all, these five states put together BJP won the largest number of seats. BJP got 448 seats, the Congress 348 and the JD a mere 42. It is significant that, of the 9.84 crore votes polled, BJP secured as many as 3.57 crores. This is one crore votes more than what Congress secured (2.59 crores) and four times what the JD secured (89 lakhs).

In Delhi, BJP secured 49 seats and 42.8 per cent of votes as against 19 seats and 37.0 per cent votes in 1983. Against this Congress secured only 14 seats and 34.5 per cent votes against 34 seats and 47.5 per cent votes secured by it in 1983. BJP, thus, formed the Government with M.L. Khurana as the Chief Minister.

In Madhya Pradesh, BJP secured 116 seats and 38.7 per cent of votes as against 220 seats and 39.1 per cent of votes in 1990 Assembly Elections. The Congress secured 174 seats and 40.8 per cent of votes as against 56 seats and 33.4 per cent of votes in 1990. The shift in vote percentage of BJP was only 0.6 per cent in 1993 as compared to 1990 but it lost the election. The defeat was occasioned by big losses in tribal areas. The number of tribal seats in MP is 75. BJP had secured 54 seats in 1990. In 1993, this number came down to 17. Out of SC seats of 44 in MP, BJP share of seats came down from 34 to 27. In the case of SC loss of seats was only 7 but this loss coupled with loss of 37 tribal seats effected the result. Two factor caused loss of tribal votes. One related Tendu leaf and the other was brewing of alcoholic drink by tribals.

However, there was a problem here; Tendu-pickers had been promised bonus. A sum of Rs. 113 crores was available for distribution. But the Congress-controlled cooperatives had no lists of members; showing who had picked how many bags. In this situation, the Government reserved this money for Kalyan Kosh (Tribal Welfare Fund). The office-bearers of Cooperatives and their Congress godfathers raised a hue and cry and misled the tribals. The Congress Governor during President's Rule handed over Rs.55 crore to these Cooperatives and earned goodwill of tribals.

Another problem was that tribals were allowed to brew 5 litres of alcoholic drink for their own use. The BJP Government banned this private brewing. It also earned Rs. 100 crores in the process. The

tribals resented these curbs on their drinking.

In Himachal Pradesh, BJP's poll performance was the weakest. BJP secured only 8 seats and 35.8 per cent of votes as against 46 seats and 41.8 per cent of votes in 1990. The Congress secured 52 seats and 49.1 per cent of votes as against 9 seats and 36.5 per cent of votes in 1990.

The BJP Government had given good governance to the state. Despite this it lost the elections.

One reason for this was no doubt the pendulum character of Himachal Pradesh politics. Congress itself had gone down to 9 seats in 1990 and to just 5 seats in 1977. But a significant factor, this time was the several policy decisions of BJP Government taken in public interest; but BJP failed to educate and prepare public opinion for the same. There were four major policy decisions:

1. Ending of apple subsidy;
2. 'No Work No Pay' policy for striking Government employees;
3. Increase in Electricity charges;
4. Increase in Medical charges.

When the BJP Government took office in 1990, the HP Treasury was empty. Cheques issued by the Government were bouncing. Economy was very much called for. The Government, therefore, stopped the heavy subsidy to the Apple Lobby. (It is significant that even the Congress Governor of HP did not find it possible to revive this subsidy during the President's Rule.) This alienated the powerful Apple Lobby.

In a state, where the Government's salary bill exceeds the total locally raised revenues of the state, Government employees went on a strike urging higher salaries. The BJP Government rejected the demand. When sections of employees went on strike, the Government announced the policy 'No Work No Pay'. The National Press acclaimed the step. The strike collapsed. But the employees never forgave the Government. In a state, where every fourth person is a Government employee, the anger of employees had adverse effect on voting in the elections.

The State Electricity Board was suffering heavy losses. There was large-scale theft of power. Government sought to meet this

situation by imposing a flat rate Rs. 25 per family per month. This was resented by people who were till then paying lesser bills.

For reason of better economy and better services, Government raised medical charges from 25 paise to Rs. 1. The poor resented this increase even though the additional revenue was to pay for additional medical facilities and better maintenance.

In Government hospitals, deliveries used to be free. With a view to encouraging family planning, Government imposed a fee of Rs. 250 on third and all subsequent deliveries. Many people viewed it as a 'Tax on Birth'.

BJP did not win any seat in Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. This was on account of weak structure of BJP in North-Eastern states.

In Rajasthan, BJP secured 95 seats and 38.4 per cent votes as against 85 seats and 33.6 per cent votes in 1990. Janata Dal which had secured 55 seats and 21.6 per cent votes in 1990 suffered a setback and could get only 6 seats and 6.6 per cent of votes. Congress improved its position by securing 76 seats and 37.6 per cent votes as against 50 seats and 33.6 per cent votes in 1990. BJP formed the Government with Bhairon Singh Shekhawat as the Chief Minister.

In Uttar Pradesh, BJP secured 176 seats and 33.4 per cent votes as against 221 seats and 31.5 per cent votes in 1991. Congress secured only 29 seats and 15 per cent votes against 46 seats and 17.4 per cent votes in 1991. Samajwadi Party (SP) secured 109 seats and 18.0 per cent votes, Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) secured 67 seats and 11.0 per cent votes. Janata Dal secured 27 seats and 12.2 per cent votes against 92 seats and 18.8 per cent votes secured by it in 1990. Mulayam Singh of Samajwadi Party formed the Government with the support of BSP and others even though BJP was the largest party.

Earlier the Kalyan Singh Government had earned much credit for BJP in UP by taking recourse to anti-copying drives; by its payment of arrears to cane growers and its generally clean and competent performance; and by its removal of obstacles one by one in the way of construction of Ram Janamsthan Mandir. However, three factors contributed in UP results; over-confidence in BJP ranks and the massive flow of Gulf and Bombay under-world money for the Mulayam-Kashi Ram outfit, and their casteist and communal

appeal. The BJP campaigned against Congress whereas its main target should have been the Mulayam-Kashi Ram Duo.

Thus even though BJP secured the largest number of seats and votes compared to other parties in 1993 elections in states taken as a whole, the BJP could not form Government in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh where its Governments were dismissed and President's Rule imposed. BJP could form Governments only in Rajasthan and Delhi.

1994 Assembly General Elections

In 1994, Assembly General Elections were held in four states — Andhra Pradesh, Goa, Karnataka and Sikkim. The performance of BJP is given below:

1994 Assembly General Elections — BJP's Performance

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	Votes secured	No. of Seats	Seat contested	Won
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1994	71.02	1210878	294	280	3
2.	Goa	1994	71.20	52094	40	12	4
3.	Karnataka	1994	68.59	3517119	224	223	40
4.	Sikkim	1994	81.76	274	32	3	0

In Andhra Pradesh, BJP secured 3 seats and 3.9 per cent votes as against 5 seats and 1.8 per cent votes in 1989. Telugu Desam secured 213 seats and formed the Government. Congress suffered a major setback as it secured only 26 seats against 181 seats secured by it in 1989.

In Goa, BJP improved its position. BJP secured 4 seats and 9.1 per cent votes against nil seat and 0.4 per cent votes in 1994. BJP captured Panjim and Madgao seats, the states political and commercial capitals respectively. BJP also increased its presence substantially in other urban and rural areas. Maharashtrawadi Gomantak-Shiv Sena-BJP alliance nearly captured power. Congress secured 18 seats against 20 seats in 1989. It formed the Government.

In Karnataka, the BJP increased its strength ten-fold from 4 seats in 1989 to 40 seats in the new Assembly. It secured 17 per cent

votes against 4 per cent secured by it in 1989. Janata Dal secured 115 seats and 33.5 per cent votes against 24 seats and 27.3 per cent votes in 1989. The Congress was relegated to the third position. It secured only 35 seats and 27.2 per cent votes against 178 seats and 43.8 per cent votes in 1989. Janata Dal formed the Government and BJP became the main Opposition party.

In Sikkim, the BJP registered its organisational presence though it did not win any seat. In Sikkim, Sikkim Democratic Front won 19 seats and formed the Government. Congress secured only 2 seats.

1995 Assembly General Elections

In 1995, Assembly General Elections were held in five states—Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Manipur and Orissa.

The performance of major political parties in these states is given ahead:

In Arunachal Pradesh, BJP did not win any seat due to its weak organisations in that state.

In Bihar, BJP won 41 seats and 12.96 per cent of votes against 39 seats and 11.6 per cent of votes secured in 1990. Congress secured only 29 seats and 16.2 per cent votes as against 70 seats and 24.7 per cent votes in 1990. Janata Dal secured 163 seats and 28.7 per cent votes against 123 seats and 25.7 per cent votes. Laloo Prasad Yadav of Janata Dal who had formed the Government in 1990 again formed government in 1995.

In Gujarat, BJP secured an absolute majority. BJP won 121 seats and 42.51 per cent of votes against 67 seats and 26.7 per cent of votes in 1990. Congress secured 45 seats and 32.8 per cent of votes as against 33 seats and 30.7 per cent of votes in 1990. Janata Dal was wiped out. It did not secure any seat and got only 2.8 per cent of votes as against 70 seats and 29.4 per cent votes in 1990. Keshubhai Patel of BJP formed the Government.

In Maharashtra, BJP secured 64 seats and 12.6 per cent of votes as against 42 seats and 10.7 per cent of votes secured in 1990. Shiv Sena (SHS), BJP's ally, secured 73 seats and 16.5 per cent votes as against 52 seats and 15.9 per cent votes. The Congress secured 80 seats and 30.9 per cent votes against 141 seats and 38.2 per cent votes, BJP- Shiv Sena Alliance formed the Government with Shri Manohar Joshi of Shiv Sena as the Chief Minister.

In Manipur, BJP opened its account by securing 1 seat and 3.5 per cent votes.

In Orissa, BJP secured 9 seats and 7.88 per cent of votes against 2 seats and 3.6 per cent of votes in 1990. Congress secured 80 seats and 39.3 per cent of votes as against 10 seats and 29.8 per cent of votes in 1990. Janata Dal suffered a setback by securing only 46 seats and 35.3 per cent of votes as against 123 seats and 53.7 per cent votes in 1990. Congress formed the Government.

The political map of India after December 1994 when the first round of state elections was held and the March 1995 elections which is second round of election has been redrawn. The biggest loser in what amounts to a mini-general elections is the Congress Party, which has been drubbed out of power in as many as four out of six major states which have gone to poll since December 1994, viz. Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat. It has met with disaster in Bihar which it lost five years ago. Congress has

1995 Assembly Elections—Performance of major political parties

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes % contested	Seats contested	Won
1.	Arunachal Pradesh	1995	81.21	60	BJP INC IND	14335 214543 111958	3.37 50.50 26.35	15 60 59	0 43 12
2.	Bihar	1995	61.79	324	BJP CPI INC JD JMM	4480363 1645765 5622952 9669589 803132	12.96 4.76 16.27 27.98 2.32	315 61 320 264 63	41 26 29 167 10
3.	Gujarat	1995	64.39	182	BJP INC IND	7672401 5930216 3376637	42.51 32.86 18.71	182 181 1671	121 45 16
4.	Maharashtra	1995	71.69	288	BJP INC JD SHS IND	4932767 11941832 2258914 6315493 9104036	12.80 31.00 5.86 16.39 23.63	116 286 182 169 3196	65 80 11 73 45
5.	Manipur	1995	91.41	60	BJP INC JD MPP	38405 328362 136594 271247	3.35 28.65 11.92 23.67	20 60 40 55	1 22 7 18
6.	Orissa	1995	73.64	147	BJP INC JD	1245996 6180237 5600853	7.88 39.08 35.41	144 146 146	9 80 46

managed to wrest only one state from the opposition, namely Orissa. The states now ruled by the Congress account for barely a quarter of the population, quite a comedown for a party that once bestrode the nation like a colossus.

In December 1994, the BJP registered impressive gains in Karnataka where it made a quantum jump from 4 to 40, to emerge as the main opposition. Relegating the ruling Congress to poor third position. Goa it made more than a niche for itself when the BJP-MGP-Shiv Sena alliance nearly captured power, though it was the first time the party had opened its account with four solid seats.

The victories in the South have now been crowned with even bigger triumphs for BJP in the West where it has dug its heels in the industrial heartland of the nation. The party has wrested Maharashtra and Gujarat from the ruling Congress Party, the former in alliance with Shiv Sena and the latter on its own, where it has won a smashing 2/3rd majority, increasing its strength from 67 to 121 seats out of a total of 182. In both the states, traditionally held by the Congress all these years, it has seen its strength dwindle from 141 to 80 seats in Maharashtra and from 103 to 45 seats in Gujarat. In Orissa, the BJP has increased its strength three-fold capturing Cuttack, the heart of the state and marched ahead of the two communist parties allied to Janata Dal. In Bihar, the party acquired for the first time the status of a recognised opposition group in the Assembly, pushing the Congress, which used to be main opposition, to the third place. The Congress suffered a steep decline in its strength from 72 in the last Assembly to 27 only.

The voting patterns speak for themselves. In Maharashtra the BJP-Shiv Sena alliance won more seats than the Congress in five out of six regions. In Bombay, the state's as well as the country's commercial and financial capital, the alliance won 30 out of 34 seats, leaving the former ruling party with just one seat in Colaba. The Congress suffered total rout in Bombay and Konkan and could not win even a quarter of the total seats in Vidarbha and Marathwada. Even in Western Maharashtra, the ruling party's sugar bastion, the alliance wrested 15 out of 75 seats, 9 more than in 1990.

In Gujarat, the Congress debacle was complete. In South Gujarat, it could manage only 4 out of 29 seats or less than 15 per cent and in North and the Central Gujarat only 24 out of 95 seats, or just about a

quarter. Even in Kutch and Saurashtra where it tried to put up some resistance, it sneaked through with less than one-third of the seats.

The BJP has acquired the contour and character of a genuinely pan-Indian party in geographical, social and economic terms, with a sweep that not only raises it above all other opposition parties, but also brings it at par for a direct race for influence and power with the once mighty Indian National Congress. It is significant to note that BJP has spread out not only to urban and rural areas but within all sections of the society. In Gujarat, BJP won 10 out of a total 13 SC seats and 15 out of 26 ST seats. Similarly in Maharashtra, the party was able to win 8 out of 9 allotted SC seats and 5 out of 8 allotted ST seats. It was also for the first time that in these two states the minorities came out openly in support of the BJP candidates. In Orissa, out of 9 seats, which were won by the BJP three—one SC and two ST seats.

The BJP's emphasis on *Hindutva* and *Swadeshi* played its part in the consolidation of grass root support for the party. The popular revulsion in Maharashtra against the manner in which politics has been criminalised was a big factor in the rejection of the ruling Congress in the state. In Gujarat apart from the politics of criminalisation, the people rejected the politics of defection and opportunism indulged in by the Congress and the Janata Dal which had to pay the price of total elimination from the state's political arena. In Andhra Pradesh, it was the growing corruption at the high level that brought about the downfall of the Congress in the Prime Minister's home state. And in Karnataka, voters revolted not only against blatant vote-bank politics and rampant corruption, which have been the ruling party's stock-in-trade for several years, but also against dubious economic policies. In Bihar, the caste factor, unfortunately overshadowed everything else and has helped the ruling Janata Dal.

1996 Assembly General Elections

In 1996, Assembly General Elections were held in eight states — Assam, Haryana, Jammu & Kashmir, Kerala, Pondicherry, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

The performance of the major parties in these states is given ahead:

In Assam, BJP secured 4 seats and 10.41 per cent of votes against

nil seat and 6.71 per cent of votes in 1991. Thus, BJP was able to open its account in this state. Congress (INC) secured 34 seats and 30.56 per cent of votes against 66 seats and 29.2 per cent of votes in 1991. Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) secured 59 seats and 29.70 per cent of votes and formed the Government. AGP had secured 19 seats and 17.9 per cent of votes in 1991.

In Haryana, BJP secured 11 seats and 8.88 per cent of votes against 2 seats and 9.4 per cent of votes in 1991. The lower percentage of votes was an account of contesting only 25 seats as against 89 seats contested by it in 1991. Congress (INC) secured 9 seats and 20.82 per cent of votes against 51 seats and 33.7 per cent of votes in 1991. The Congress was, thus, swept off the power. Samata Party (SAP) secured 24 seats and 20.56 per cent of votes. Haryana Vikas Party (HVP) secured 33 seats and 22.66 per cent of votes against 12 seats and 12.5 per cent of votes in 1991.

In Jammu and Kashmir, BJP secured 8 seats and 12.13 per cent of votes. Congress (INC) secured 7 seats and 20.00 per cent votes. Jammu and Kashmir National Conference (JKNC) secured 57 seats and 34.78 per cent of votes. JKNC formed Government in the state.

In Kerala, BJP got 5.48 per cent votes against 4.7 per cent of votes in 1991. BJP, however, did not get any seat. Communist Party Marxist (CPM) got 40 seats and 21.59 per cent votes, Communist Party of India (CPI) got 18 seats and 7.62 per cent of votes. Kerala Congress (M) (KECM) got 5 seats and 3.18 per cent of votes. Muslim League (MUL) got 13 seats and 7.19 per cent of votes. Congress (INC) got 37 seats and 30.43 per cent of votes. CPM-led Alliance formed the Government.

In Pondicherry, the BJP did not win any seat. In Tamil Nadu BJP won one seat and opened its account for the first time and secured 1.81 per cent votes against less than 1 per cent votes in 1991. Anna Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam (ADMK) won 4 seats and 21.47 per cent of votes against 164 seats and 44.4 per cent votes in 1991. Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) won 173 seats and 42.07 per cent votes as against 2 seats and 22.5 per cent votes in 1991. DMK formed the Government. Tamil Manila Congress (TMC) won 39 seats and 9.30 per cent of votes.

In Uttar Pradesh, BJP won 174 seats with 32.52 per cent of votes

1996 Assembly General Elections — Performance of major parties

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes % contested	Seats contested	Won
1.	Assam	1996	78.92	126	BJP INC AGP	946236 2778627 2700934	10.41 30.56 29.70	117 122 96	4 34 59
2.	Haryana	1996	70.54	90	BJP INC SAP HVP IND	672558 1576882 1557914 1716572 1173533	8.88 20.82 20.56 22.66 15.49	25 90 89 65 2022	11 9 24 33 10
3.	Jammu & Kashmir	1996	53.92	87	BJP INC JKN	301238 496628 863612	12.13 20.00 34.78	53 84 81	8 7 57
4.	Kerala	1996	71.16	140	BJP CPI CPM INC KEC(M) MUL	781090 1086350 3078723 4340717 453614 1025556	5.48 7.62 21.59 30.43 3.18 7.19	127 22 62 94 10 22	0 18 40 37 5 13
5.	Pondicherry	1996	75.33	30	BJP INC ADMK DMK TMC(M)	5217 116618 57678 105392 42485	1.13 25.34 12.53 22.90 9.23	14 20 10 18 5	0 9 3 7 5
6.	Tamil Nadu	1996	66.95	234	BJP ADMK	490453 5831383	1.81 21.47	143 168	1 4
S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of	Name of	Votes	Votes %	Seats	Won

Seats	Party	secured	contested	contested
7. Uttar Pradesh	DMK TMC(M) BJP INC BSP SP	11423380	42.07	182
		2526474	9.30	40
		18028820	32.52	414
		4626663	8.35	126
		10890716	19.64	296
		12085226	21.80	281
8. West Bengal	BJP CPI CPM INC FBL RSP	2372480	6.45	292
		642993	1.75	12
		13949664	37.92	217
		14523964	39.48	288
		1912183	5.20	34
		1367439	3.72	23
				173
				39
				174
				33
				67
				110
				0
				6
				157
				82
				21
				18

as against 176 seats and 33.4 per cent of votes in 1993. Thus, BJP more or less maintained its position. Congress won 33 seats and 8.35 per cent of votes as against 29 seats and 15 per cent votes in 1993. Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) won 67 seats and 19.6 per cent of votes as against 67 seats and 11.0 per cent of votes in 1993. Samajwadi Party secured 110 seats and 21.80 per cent votes as against 109 seats and 18.0 per cent votes in 1993. BJP and BSP alliance formed the Government.

1997 Assembly General Elections

In 1997, Assembly General Elections were held only in Punjab state.

The party-wise position of major parties is given below:

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes %	Seats Cont.	Won
1.	Punjab	1997	68.73	117	BJP	857219	8.33	22	18
					INC	2736346	26.59	105	14
					SAD	3873099	37.64	92	75

Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) formed the Government.

1998 Assembly General Elections

In 1998, Assembly General Elections were held in nine States/UT—Delhi, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Rajasthan. The state-wise position is as given ahead:

In Himachal Pradesh, BJP won 31 seats with 39.02 per cent votes against 8 seats and 35.8 per cent votes secured in 1993. The Congress secured 31 seats and 43.51 per cent votes. Himachal Vikas Congress (HVC) secured 5 seats and 9.63 per cent votes. One seat was won by an Independent. BJP formed the Government with Prem Kumar Dhumal as the Chief Minister with the support of an Independent and HVC.

In Madhya Pradesh, BJP secured 119 seats with 39.28 per cent of votes against 116 seats and 38.7 per cent votes. The Congress secured 172 seats and 40.59 per cent of votes against 174 seats and 40.8 per cent of votes. BSP secured 11 seats and 6.5 per cent of votes. The Congress, BJP and BSP were able to more or less maintain their position of 1993 elections. Even though BJP improved its vote

percentage of 1993, the Congress secured 1.5 per cent votes more than BJP and formed the Government.

In Meghalaya, BJP secured 3 seats and 5.01 per cent votes, which was an achievement in North-Eastern states. The Congress secured 25 seats and 35.03 per cent of votes against 24 seats and 34.6 per cent of votes in 1993. United Democratic Party (UDP) secured 20 seats. UDP formed the Government with the support of BJP and others.

In Mizoram and Tripura, BJP did not get any seat. BJP did not contest Assembly Elections in Nagaland.

In Rajasthan, BJP got 33 seats and 33.23 per cent votes as against 95 seats and 38.4 per cent of votes in 1993. The Congress secured 153 seats and 43.95 per cent of votes as against 76 seats and 37.6 per cent of votes in 1993. The Congress formed the Government.

1999 Assembly General Elections

In 1999, Assembly General Elections were held in six states — Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Sikkim. BJP did not contest any seat in Sikkim.

The position of major parties in these elections is given ahead:

In Andhra Pradesh, BJP secured 12 seats and 3.67 per cent of votes against 3 seats and 3.9 per cent of votes in 1994. The higher percentage of votes in 1994 was because BJP contested 279 seats as against 24 seats in 1999. Congress secured 91 seats and 40.61 per cent of votes. In 1993, Congress had secured only 26 seats and 33.7 per cent of votes. Telugu Desam Party (TDP) secured 180 seats and 43.87 per cent of votes as against 213 seats and 43.9 per cent of votes. TDP formed the Government.

In Arunachal Pradesh, BJP did not win any seat though it

1998 Assembly General Elections – Position of major parties

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes %	Seats contested	Won
1.	Delhi	1998	48.99	70	BJP	1390689	34.02	67	15
					INC	1952017	47.76	70	52
2.	Gujarat	1998	59.30	182	BJP	7300826	44.81	182	117
					INC	5677386	34.85	179	53
3.	Himachal Pradesh	1998	71.23	68	BJP	995482	39.02	68	31
					INC	1110055	43.51	68	31
					HVC	245584	9.63	62	5
4.	Madhya Pradesh	1998	60.22	320	BJP	10430233	39.28	320	119
					BSP	1633825	6.15	170	11
					INC	10778985	40.59	316	172
5.	Meghalaya	1998	74.52	60	BJP	41924	5.01	28	3
					INC	293346	35.03	59	25
					UDP	226026	26.99	56	20
6.	Mizoram	1998	76.32	40	BJP	8448	2.50	12	0
					INC	100608	29.77	40	6
					MINF	84444	24.99	28	21
					MZPC	69078	20.44	28	12
7.	Nagaland	1998	78.95	60	BJP	0	0	0	0
					INC	103206	50.73	60	53
					IND	100226	49.27	20	7

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes %	Seats contested	Won
8.	Rajasthan	1998	63.39	200	BJP	6258509	33.23	196	33
					INC	8467160	44.95	200	153
9.	Tripura	1998	80.84	60	BJP	80272	5.87	60	0
					CPM	621804	45.49	55	38
					INC	464171	33.96	38	13

In Delhi, BJP suffered a setback. The BJP secured only 15 seats 34.02 per cent votes against 49 seats and 42.8 per cent votes in 1993. Congress secured 52 seats and 47.76 per cent votes against 14 seats and 34.5 per cent votes in 1993. The position of Congress and BJP got reversed in 1998.

In Gujarat, BJP secured 121 seats and 44.81 per cent votes in 1993. After 1993 election, Shankar Singh Vaghela had defected from the BJP and formed a separate party and had caused fall of BJP Government led by Keshubhai Patel/Suresh Mehta. Vaghela had formed a Government of defectors with the support of the Congress. The voters punished Vaghela. His party was able to secure only 4 seats. Congress secured 53 seats and 34.85 per cent of votes against 48 seats and 32.8 per cent in 1993. BJP formed the Government with Keshubhai Patel as the Chief Minister.

secured 10.83 per cent of votes against 3.4 per cent of votes in 1995.

In Goa, BJP won 10 seats and 26.15 per cent of votes against 4 seats and 9.1 per cent of votes. Congress with 21 seats formed the Government. BJP was the main Opposition party.

In Karnataka, BJP secured 44 seats and 20.69 per cent of votes as against 40 seats and 17 per cent votes. BJP emerged as the main Opposition. Congress secured 132 seats. Janata Dal had split. Both the faction received setback.

In Maharashtra, BJP secured 56 seats and 14.54 per cent votes against 64 seats and 12.6 per cent votes in 1995. Shiv Sena (SHS) secured 69 seats and 17.33 per cent of votes as against 73 seats and 16.5 per cent votes in 1995. BJP-Shiv Sena Alliance did not perform upto expectations. Congress secured 76 seats and 27.20 per cent of votes as against 80 seats and 30.9 per cent of votes in 1995. Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) secured 58 seats and 22.60 per cent votes. Congress and NCP together formed the Government.

2000 Assembly General Elections

General Elections in four states were held in 2000 – Bihar, Haryana, Manipur and Orissa. The performance of major parties is as given ahead:

1999 Assembly Elections — Position of major parties

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes % contested	Seats contested	Won
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1999	69.15	294	BJP	1223481	3.67	24	12
					INC	13526309	40.61	293	91
					TDP	14613307	43.87	269	180
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	1999	72.95	60	BJP	44556	10.83	23	0
					INC	213097	51.78	60	53
					NCP	35967	8.74	21	4
3.	Goa	1999	65.00	40	BJP	150959	26.15	39	10
					INC	222747	38.58	40	21
					MAG	81091	14.05	31	4
					UGDP	36924	6.40	17	2
4.	Karnataka	1999	67.65	224	BJP	4598741	20.69	149	44
					INC	9077815	40.84	222	132
					JD(S)	2316885	10.42	203	10
					JD(U)	3006253	13.53	112	18
5.	Maharashtra	1999	60.95	288	BJP	4776301	14.54	117	56
					INC	8937043	27.20	249	75
					NCP	7425427	22.60	223	58
					SHS	5692812	17.33	161	69
					IND	3116564	9.49	837	12
6.	Sikkim	1999	81.83	32	BJP	0	0	0	0
					SDF	107214	52.32	31	24
					SSP	85827	41.88	32	7

In Bihar, BJP secured 67 seats and 14.64 per cent of votes as against 41 seats and 12.9 per cent of votes in 1995. The Congress secured 23 seats and 11.06 per cent of votes as against 29 seats and 16.2 per cent of votes in 1995. Janata Dal (U) secured 21 seats and 28.7 per cent of votes in 1995. Janata Dal split into RJD and JD (U) in Bihar prior to 2000 elections. Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) secured 124 seats and 28.34 per cent of votes. Samata Party (SAP) secured 34 seats and 8.65 per cent of votes. RJD formed the Government after taking support from other parties.

In Haryana, BJP secured 6 seats and 8.94 per cent of votes against 11 seats and 8.88 per cent of votes in 1996. Congress secured 21 seats and 31.22 per cent of votes against 9 seats and 20.82 per cent of votes in 1996. Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) secured 47 seats and 29.61 per cent votes. Haryana Vikas Party (HVP) got 2 seats and 5.55 per cent votes against 33 seats and 22.66 per cent votes in 1996. INLD formed the Government.

In Manipur, BJP made a good start by winning 6 seats and 11.28 per cent of votes against 1 seat and 3.35 per cent of votes in 1995. Congress won 11 seats and 18.31 per cent votes. Manipur State Congress Party (MSCP) secured 23 seats and 26.28 per cent of votes.

In Orissa, BJP won 38 seats and 18.20 per cent of votes against 9 seats and 7.88 per cent of votes in 1995. Congress won 26 seats and 33.78 per cent votes against 80 seats and 39.08 per cent votes. Biju Patnaik Janata Dal (BJD) secured 68 seats and 29.40 per cent votes. BJD in alliance with BJP formed the Government.

2001 Assembly General Elections

In 2001, Assembly General Elections were held in five states — Assam, Kerala, Pondicherry, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. The performance of major parties in these elections is as given ahead:

In Assam, the BJP won 8 seats and 9.35 per cent votes as against 4 seats and 10.41 per cent votes in 1996. The higher percentage of

2000 Assembly General Elections — Performance of major parties

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes % contested	Seats contested	Won
1.	Bihar	2000	62.57	324	BJP	5424687	14.64	168	67
					INC	4096467	11.06	324	23
					JD(U)	2396677	6.47	87	21
					RJD	1050036	28.34	293	124
2.	Haryana	2000	69.01	90	SAP	3205746	8.65	120	34
					BJP	684283	8.94	29	6
					INC	2388950	31.22	90	21
					HVP	424556	5.55	82	2
3.	Manipur	2000	89.87	60	INLD	2266131	29.61	62	47
					IND	1293564	16.90	519	11
					BJP	142174	11.28	39	6
					INC	230748	18.31	47	11
4.	Orissa	2000	59.10	147	NCP	99128	7.87	41	5
					FPM	118916	9.44	39	6
					MPP	99487	7.90	29	4
					MSCP	331141	26.28	57	23
					BJP	2570074	18.20	63	38
					INC	4770654	33.78	145	26
					BJD	4151895	29.40	84	68

votes in 1996 was because BJP contested 117 seats against 46 seats contested in 2001. Congress secured 71 seats and 39.71 per cent of votes against 34 seats and 30.56 per cent of votes. Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) secured only 20 seats against 59 seats secured by it in 1996. BJP improved its position. Congress formed the Government.

In Kerala, BJP did not get any seat as was the case in 1996 as well. In Pondicherry, BJP secured 1 seat and 4.65 per cent votes against nil seat and 1.13 per cent votes in 1996.

In Tamil Nadu, BJP secured 4 seats and 3.19 per cent of votes as against 1 seat and 1.81 per cent votes in 1996. Anna Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam (ADMK) secured 132 seats and formed the Government.

In West Bengal, BJP did not secure any seat as was the case in 1996 as well. CPM-led Alliance formed the Government.

2002 Assembly General Elections

In 2002, Assembly General Elections were held in seven states — Goa, Gujarat, Jammu & Kashmir, Manipur, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Uttaranchal.

The performance of major parties are as given ahead:

2001 Assembly General Election – Performance of major parties

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes % contested	Seats contested	Won
1.	Assam	2001	74.63	126	BJP INC AGP	995004 4230676 2130118	9.35 39.75 20.02	46 126 77	8 71 20
2.	Kerala	2001	72.47	140	BJP CPI CPM INC KEC(M) MUL	789764 1141344 3361827 4940883 556647 1193843	5.20 7.25 21.36 31.40 3.54 7.59	123 22 65 88 11 21	0 7 23 62 9 16
3.	Pondicherry	2001	70.10	30	BJP INC ADMK DMK PMC	22164 108700 59926 83679 48865	4.65 22.78 12.56 17.54 10.24	5 21 20 15 9	1 11 3 7 4
4.	Tamil Nadu	2001	59.07	234	BJP INC ADMK DMK PMK TMC(M)	895352 696205 8815387 8669864 1557500 1885726	3.19 2.48 31.44 30.92 5.56 6.73	21 14 141 183 27 32	4 7 132 31 20 23

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes % contested	Seats contested	Won
5.	West Bengal	2001	75.29	294	BJP	1901351	5.19	266	0
					CPI	655237	1.79	13	7
					CPM	13402603	36.59	211	143
					INC	2921151	7.98	60	26
					AITC	11229396	30.66	226	60
					FBL	2067944	5.65	34	25
					RSP	1256951	3.43	23	17

In Goa, BJP won 17 seats and secured 35.57 per cent votes against 10 seats and 26.15 per cent votes in 1999 General Elections. Congress won 16 seats secured 28.42 per cent votes against 21 seats with 38.58 per cent votes in 1999. Two seats were won by Maharashtrawadi Gomantak (MAG) and 3 seats by United Goan Democratic Party (UGDP). BJP formed the Government.

In Gujarat, BJP secured 127 seats and 49.85 per cent votes against 117 seats won and 44.81 per cent votes in 1998 Elections. Congress won only 51 seats and 39.28 per cent votes against 53 seats and 34.85 per cent votes in 1998. BJP formed the Government.

In Jammu & Kashmir, BJP suffered a setback. BJP secured only 1 seat against 8 seats secured in 1996. Congress secured 20 seats and Jammu & Kashmir National Conference secured 28 seats. Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) secured 16 seats. Congress and PDP formed a coalition Government.

In Manipur, BJP secured 4 seats and 9.55 per cent votes against 6 seats and 11.28 per cent votes.

In Punjab, BJP and Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) alliance suffered a major setback. BJP secured only 3 seats and 5.67 per cent of votes against 18 seats and 8.33 per cent of votes in 1997. SAD secured 41 seats and 31.08 per cent of votes as against 75 seats and 37.64 per cent of votes in 1997. Congress secured 62 seats and 35.81 per cent of votes against 14 seats and 26.59 per cent of votes. The Congress formed the Government.

In Uttar Pradesh, BJP secured 88 seats and 20.08 per cent of votes against 174 seats and 32.52 per cent of votes in 1996. Bhaujan Samaj Party (BSP) secured 98 seats and 23.06 per cent of votes against 67 seats and 19.64 per cent votes in 1996. INC secured 25 seats and 8.96 per cent of votes against 33 seats and 8.35 per cent of votes in 1996. Samajwadi Party secured 143 seats and 25.37 per cent of votes against 110 seats and 21.80 per cent of votes in 1996. BJP lost its earlier position of being the largest party.

In Uttaranchal, BJP also suffered a major setback. BJP secured only 19 seats and 25.45 per cent of votes. Congress secured 36 seats and 26.91 per cent of votes. This was the first

2002 Assembly General Elections — Performance of major parties

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes % contested	Seats contested	Won
1.	Goa	2002	68.76	40	BJP INC MAG UGDP	226350 244478 45595 33462	25.57 28.42 7.16 5.26	39 40 25 10	17 16 2 3
2.	Gujarat	2002	61.54	182	BJP INC	10194353 8033104	49.85 39.28	182 180	127 51
3.	Jammu & Kashmir	2002	43.70	87	BJP INC JKN PDP	227633 643751 749825 246480	8.57 24.24 28.24 9.28	58 78 85 59	1 20 28 19
4.	Manipur	2002	90.21	60	BJP INC FPM MSCP	126044 345660 239462 163757	9.55 26.18 18.14 1240	46 58 48 42	4 20 13 7
5.	Punjab	2002	65.14	117	BJP INC SAD BJP BSP INC SP	583214 3682877 3196924 10776078 12374388 4810231 13612509	5.67 35.81 31.08 20.08 23.06 8.96 25.37	23 105 92 320 401 402 390	3 62 41 88 98 25 143
6.	Uttar Pradesh	2002	53.80	402	BJP INC RLD BJP INC	1332810 728134 769985	2.48 25.45 26.91	38 69 70	14 19 36

General Election in Uttaranchal after the formation of this state as a result of re-organisation of Uttar Pradesh. When this state was formed BJP-led a majority in this region and the Assembly formed by re-organisation of the Uttar Pradesh BJP had, therefore, formed the Government. After the General Election Congress secured the majority and formed the Government.

2003 Assembly General Elections

In 2003, Assembly General Elections were held in nine States/UT – Chhattisgarh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Rajasthan and Tripura. The performance of major parties in these elections is as given ahead:

In Chhatisgarh, BJP secured 50 seats and 39.26 per cent of votes. The Congress secured 37 seats and 36.71 per cent of votes. This was the first General Election for the Assembly after the state was formed as a result of re-organisation of Madhya Pradesh. Prior to re-organisation Congress had majority in this region in Madhya Pradesh Assembly. As a result of this, Congress had formed the Government in this state after re-organisation of Madhya Pradesh State in two states. After the General Elections, the Congress lost its majority and BJP formed the Government.

In Delhi, the BJP secured 20 seats and 35.22 per cent of votes as against 15 seats and 34.02 per cent of votes in 1998. The Congress secured 47 seats and 48.13 per cent of votes as against 52 seats and 47.46 per cent of votes in 1998. The Congress was, thus, able to retain their majority and the Government.

2003-Assembly General Elections – Performance of major parties

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes % contested	Seats contested	Won
1.	Chhattisgarh	2003	71.30	90	BJP INC	3789914 3543754	39.26 36.71	90 90	50 37
2.	Delhi	2003	53.39	70	BJP INC	1589323 2172062	35.22 48.13	70 70	20 47
3.	Himachal Pradesh	2003	74.51	68	BJP INC	1079882 1251414	35.38 41.00	68 68	16 43
4.	Madhya Pradesh	2003	67.40	230	BJP INC	10836663 8059180	42.50 31.60	230 229	173 38
5.	Meghalaya	2003	70.35	60	SP BJP INC	953548 48932 270269	3.74 5.42 29.96	161 28 60	7 2 22
6.	Mizoram	2003	78.67	40	NCP UDP BJP INC	174972 144255 7813 125944	19.40 15.99 1.87 30.09	54 45 8 40	14 9 0 12
7.	Nagaland	2003	87.85	60	MNF BJP INC	132505 96658 318671	31.66 10.88 35.86	39 38 60	21 7 21
8.	Rajasthan	2003	67.18	200	NPF BJP INC	264534 8929112 8119644	29.76 39.19 35.64	54 197 200	19 120 56
9.	Tripura	2003	77.58	60	IND BJP CPM INC	2590696 20032 711119 498749	11.37 1.32 46.82 32.84	56 21 55 42	13 0 38 13

In Himachal Pradesh, BJP suffered a setback. It secured 16 seats and 35.58 per cent votes against 31 seats and 39.2 per cent votes in 1998. Congress secured 43 seats and 41 per cent votes against 31 seats and 43.5 per cent of votes in 1998. Even though Congress had secured less number of votes as compared to 1998 it secured comfortable majority and formed the Government.

In Madhya Pradesh, BJP secured 173 seats and 42.50 per cent of votes as against 119 seats and 39.28 per cent of votes in 1998. The Congress secured only 38 seats and 31.60 per cent of votes as against 172 seats and 40.59 per cent of votes in 1998. In 1998 Madhya Pradesh Assembly had 320 seats. As Chhattisgarh had been separated from Madhya Pradesh as a result of re-organisation, the strength of Madhya Pradesh Assembly for 2003 elections was only 230. In this context, BJP's performance in winning 172 seats out of 230 seats was very impressive. BJP formed the Government and terminated 10 years' rule of Congress in the state.

In Meghalaya, BJP secured 2 seats and 5.42 per cent of votes as against 3 seats and 5.01 per cent of votes in 1998. In Mizoram, BJP did not secure any seat as in the case of 1998 elections. In Nagaland, BJP secured 7 seats and 10.88 per cent of votes. BJP did not contest Election in this state in 1998. In Tripura, BJP did not get a single seat, as was also the case in 1998 elections. BJP was able to get nine seats in these four North-Eastern states against 3 secured by it in 1998.

In Rajasthan, BJP secured 120 seats and 39.9 per cent votes as against 33 seats and 33.23 per cent of votes in 1998. Congress secured 56 seats and 35.64 per cent of votes against 153 seats and 44.95 per cent of votes in 1998. This ended Congress rule in Rajasthan. BJP formed the Government.

The performance of BJP in Assembly General Elections of 2003 was very impressive. BJP performance in Himachal Pradesh was a setback. In Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh, the BJP was able to oust Congress Governments. In North-East on the whole BJP improved its position. The Congress lost in Mizoram too. Its victory by a reduced margin in Delhi made little difference to its over all debacles.

2004 Assembly General Elections

In 2004, Assembly General Elections were held in six states—

Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa and Sikkim. The performance of major parties in these elections is as given ahead:

In Andhra Pradesh, BJP got only 2 seats and secured 2.63 per cent of votes as against 12 seats and 3.67 per cent of votes in 1999. Congress secured 185 seats and 38.56 per cent votes as against 91 seats and 40.61 per cent of votes. TDP secured 47 seats and 37.59 per cent of votes as against 180 seats and 43.87 per cent of votes. TDP thus suffered a major setback. The Congress formed the Government.

In Arunachal Pradesh, BJP secured 9 seats and 19.00 per cent votes against nil seat and 10.83 per cent votes in 1999. Congress secured 34 seats and 44.41 per cent votes against 53 seats and 51.78 per cent votes. BJP, thus, emerged as the main opposition in the state. Earlier BJP had won both the Lok Sabha seats in the state. Congress formed the Government.

In Karnataka, BJP secured 79 seats and 28.33 votes against 44 seats and 20.69 per cent votes in 1999. Congress secured 65 seats and 35.27 per cent votes as against 132 seats and 40.84 per cent votes in 1999. Janata Dal (Secular) secured 58 seats and 20.77 per cent votes

2004 Assembly General Elections — Performance of major parties

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes % contested	Seats contested	Won
1.	Andhra Pradesh	2004	69.96	294	BJP INC TDP	942008 13793461 13444168	2.63 38.56 37.59	27 234 267	2 185 47
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	2004	70.21	60	BJP INC NCP	87312 204102 19673	19.00 44.41 4.28	39 60 10	9 34 2
3.	Karnataka	2004	65.17	224	IND BJP INC	130654 7118658 8861959	28.43 28.33 35.27	48 198 224	13 79 65
4.	Maharashtra	2004	63.41	288	JD(S) JD(U) BJP INC NCP	5220121 517904 5717288 8810364 7841962	20.77 2.06 13.67 21.06 18.75	220 26 111 157 124	58 5 54 69 71
5.	Orissa	2004	66.05	147	SHS IND BJP INC	8351972 5877397 2898105 5896713	19.97 14.05 17.11 34.82	163 1083 63 133	62 19 32 38
6.	Sikkim	2004	79.23	32	BJD BJP INC SDF	4632280 667 51329 139662	27.36 0.34 26.13 71.09	84 4 28 32	61 0 1 31

as against 10 seats and 10.42 per cent votes in 1999. Janata Dal (United) secured 5 seats and 2.06 per cent of votes as against 18 seats and 13.53 per cent votes in 1999. BJP-Janata Dal (Secular), JD (S) as well as Janata Dal (U) fought the elections against Congress. Thus the mandate was against Congress. In spite of this to keep BJP out of power Congress and JD (S) formed an Alliance after the elections and formed the Government. BJP emerged as the largest party in Karnataka and the main opposition in the Assembly.

In Maharashtra, BJP secured 54 seats and 13.67 per cent votes as against 56 seats and 14.54 per cent votes in 1999. Congress secured 69 seats and 21.06 per cent votes as against 75 seats and 27.20 per cent votes in 1999. Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) secured 71 seats and 18.75 per cent of votes as against 58 seats and 22.60 per cent of votes in 1999. Shiv Sena (SHS) secured 62 seats and 19.97 per cent of votes as against 69 seats and 17.30 per cent of votes in 1999. Congress-NCP Alliance was able to improve its position and formed the Government again.

In Orissa, BJD secured 61 seats and 27.36 per cent of votes as against 84 seats and 29.40 per cent votes in 2000 Elections. BJP-BJD Alliance, thus, secured an absolute majority and formed the Government again.

In Sikkim, BJP did not get any seat. BJP did not contest 1999 elections in this state.

2004 Assembly General Elections saw growth of BJP in Karnataka and Arunachal Pradesh. The results of Assembly Elections in Maharashtra were, however, disappointing from BJP's point of view. On the basis of performance in Governance, the Congress-NCP combine least deserved to win a renewed mandate. There was, thus, a disconnect between the performance in Government and performance in elections.

2005 Assembly General Elections

In early 2005 Assembly General Elections were held in three States – Bihar, Haryana and Jharkhand. The performance of major political parties in these elections is as given ahead:

In Bihar and Jharkhand this was the first General Election after re-organisation of the Bihar State in two states. The strength of Assembly in Bihar got reduced from 324 to 243 as a result of

the re-organisation.

In Bihar, BJP won 37 seats and 10.97 per cent votes in Feb., 2005 against 67 seats and 14.64 per cent votes in 2000. The BJP had won seats in Jharkhand region of Bihar also in 2000 which had become a separate State prior to 2005 elections. Congress won 10 seats and 5 per cent votes in Feb., 2005 as against 23 seats and 11.06 per cent of votes in 2000. Janata Dal (United) won 55 seats and 14.55 per cent votes in Feb., 2005 as against 21 seats and 6.47 per cent of votes in 2000. Rashtriya Janata Dal won 75 seats and 25.07 per cent votes in Feb., 2005 against 124 seats and 28.34 per cent votes in 2000. Lok Jan Shakti Party (LJP) won 29 seats and 12.62 per cent of votes in 2005. In 2000 Samta Party (SAP) had contested as an independent party and had won 34 seats and 8.65 per cent of votes. In 2005 elections, Samata Party had merged with Janata Dal (United). The BJP and Janata Dal (United) had fought this election

2005 Assembly General Elections – Performance of major political parties

S.No.	State/UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Parties	Votes secured	Votes % contested	Seats contested	Won
1.	Bihar	Feb. 2005	46.50	243	BJP INC JD(U) RJD LJP	2686290 1223835 3564930 6140223 3091173	10.97 5.00 14.55 25.07 12.62	103 84 138 215 178	37 10 55 75 29
2.	Haryana	Feb. 2005	71.96	90	BJP INC INLD	949176 3889125 2452488	10.36 42.46 26.77	90 90 89	2 67 9
3.	Jharkhand	Feb. 2005	57.03	81	BJP INC JD(U) JMM RJD	2387130 1220498 405393 1447774 859169	23.57 12.05 4.00 14.29 8.48	63 41 18 49 51	30 9 6 17 7

as prepoll-Alliance and had together secured 92 seats in a House of 243. LJP held the balance in this hung Assembly and had fought the Election on the slogan of Anti-RJD Government. The mandate of 2005 Assembly Elections was, therefore, against the formation of RJD Government. Ram Vilas Paswan, the Leader of LJP refused to form or join any Government either with RJD or BJP or formed with the support of either of these parties. He also insisted on 'Muslim' Chief Minister. As no Government could be formed the President's rule was imposed in Bihar in March, 2005 without the Assembly having been summoned. Later a majority of LJP MLA's revolted against the stand taken by Paswan and decided to join JD (U). Some independent member also decided to support Government of BJP-JD (U) Alliance. It is estimated that the Alliance had mustered a strength of about 135 elected members of the Assembly. The Governor in order to prevent JD (U) leader Nitish Kumar to prefer claim for formation of Government recommended on 22nd May, 2005 dissolution of the Bihar Assembly alleging horse-trading and play of money. The Central Cabinet held a midnight meeting and advised President to dissolve the Assembly. President who was on tour abroad approved the recommendation of the UPA Government the same night and a proclamation dissolving the Assembly was issued on 23rd May, 2005. The Election Commission announced the holding of the Elections for the new Assembly as per programme spread over October-November, 2005. The formal notification in this regard was issued in September for the first date of poll to be held on 18th October, 2005. The Constitutional Bench of Supreme Court in its order dated 7th October, 2005 passed on a writ petition by some elected members of the dissolved assembly declared the dissolution of the Bihar Assembly on the recommendation of Bihar Governor by UPA Government, as "unconstitutional". The Supreme Court, however, refrained from giving the relief of restoring the dissolved Assembly and allowed the Election process to proceed as per-programme notified by the Election Commission.

The last date of Bihar poll was 19th November, 2005. The votes were counted on 22nd November, 2005

The election took place in all the 243 Assembly constituencies of Bihar Assembly.

The party-wise position was as follows:

Name of Party	Seats won
Bharatiya Janata Party	55
Indian National Congress	9
Bahujan Samaj Party	4
Communist Party of India	3
Communist Party of India (Marxist)	1
Nationalist Congress Party	1
Janata Dal (United)	88
Rashtriya Janata Dal	54
Lok Jan Shakti Party	10
Communist Party of India (Marxist Leninist) Liberation	5
Samajwadi Party	2
Akhil Jan Vikas Dal	
Independent	10
Total	243

Thus NDA Alliance comprising JD (U) and BJP secured 143 seats. In addition to these seats, out of the independent candidates who won, 4 candidates were supported by NDA. Thus the total strength of NDA was 147 seats.

The statement below gives the position of the major parties:

S.N.	State/ UT	Year	Polling %	No. of Seats	Name of Party	Votes secured	Votes %	Seats Contested	Seats Won
1.	Bihar	Nov. 2005	46.87	243	BJP	3685510	15.64	102	55
					INC	1435448	6.09	51	9
					JD (U)	4819163	20.45	139	88
					RJD	5523482	23.44	175	54
					LJP	2614106	11.09	203	10

The BJP secured 55 seats and 15.64 per cent votes in November, 2005 Elections as against 37 seats and 10.97 per cent votes in Feb. 2005 elections. Janata Dal (United) secured 88 seats and 20.45 per cent votes in November, 2005 elections as against 55 seats and 14.55 per cent votes in February election. Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) secured 54 seats and 23.44 per cent votes in November, 2005

elections as against 75 seats and 25.07 per cent votes in February elections. Thus there was considerable swing in favour of BJP and Janata Dal in November, 2005 elections indicating that the voters had sharply reacted to the unconstitutional act of the Central Government in dissolving the Assembly and subjecting Bihar to another election in about eight months.

Nitish Kumar formed the NDA Government on 24.11.2005 as Chief Minister.

In Haryana, BJP secured 2 seats and 10.36 per cent votes in February 2005 elections as against 6 seats 8.14 per cent of votes in 2000. Congress secured 67 seats and 42.46 per cent of votes in 2005 elections as against 21 seats 31.22 per cent of votes in 2000. Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) secured 9 seats and 26.77 per cent of votes in 2005 elections as against 47 seats and 29.61 per cent of votes in 2000. Congress formed the Government.

The Assembly Election held in February 2005 was the first General Election for the Assembly after the formation of Jharkhand State. BJP and JD (U) formed a pre-poll Alliance. BJP secured 30 seats and 23.57 per cent votes. Janata Dal (U) secured 6 seats and 4 per cent of votes. Thus the pre-poll Alliance of BJP and JD (U) secured 36 seats. The Congress secured 9 seats and 12.05 per cent of votes. Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) secured 17 seats and 14.29 per cent of votes. Congress and JMM had pre-poll Alliance and together they had 26 seats. Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) secured 7 seats and 8.48 per cent of votes. The BJP led alliance secured support of some independent MLA's also and submitted a claim for formation of government on the basis of the largest pre-poll alliance and with independent MLA having a clear majority in the House. They praded the MLA's supporting BJP-JD (U) Alliance before the Governor. The Governor appointed by the UPA government acted in a partisan manner and disregarded the claim of BJP-led Alliance and asked Shibu Soren of JMM to form the Government. The Government lacked majority. BJP-led Alliance praded their MLA's who constituted majority before the President of India in New Delhi. The matter was agitated before the Supreme Court. The Court intervened and as Shri Shibu Soren did not have the majority nor was able to demonstrate it in the Assembly he was asked to

resign. BJP led alliance was then asked to form the Government. UPA government in this manner tried to subvert the mandate given by the people through the Governor. This attempt, however, failed

The electoral victories or defeats are parts of any democratic electoral system. In the last twenty-five years of its formation, however, BJP has become an important pole in the politics of the country. Anti-Congress-ism has got replaced by pro or anti-BJP-ism in the electoral battles. Today BJP has Governments in many states and in several other states it is functioning as the main opposition party. The BJP is growing in strength in different parts of the country. There are some states such as Kerala, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and North-Eastern States where the organisation and appeal of BJP is weak and extensive efforts will be needed to remedy this.

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Chapter VI

Economic Policy

Introduction

In the Plenary Session held on 28-30 December, 1980 at Bombay, BJP adopted 'Economic Policy Statement 1980' and 'Five Commitments'. These documents spelled out the BJP's 'Economic Policy'. In 1986 in the Plenary Session held at New Delhi on 9-11 May, 'Economic Policy Statement-1986' was adopted which further elaborated the 'Economic Policy'. In May 1992, the National Council meeting held at Gandhinagar approved a comprehensive 'Statement regarding Humanistic Approach to Economic Development'. These documents reflect the developing Economic Policy of the BJP. The policy is further elaborated in various Election Manifestoes issued from time to time and Economic Resolutions passed in the meetings of National Council/National Executive during the course of the last 25 years.

Thus, the approach of BJP to Economic Policy combines continuity with change. It is this continuity with recognition of change that lends freshness, realism and vitality to the vision that BJP has of a prosperous, progressive egalitarian, enlightened, confident and participatory India capable of holding its own in the flux of times.

The new Economic order envisaged by BJP is based on 'Gandhian Socialism' and Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya's 'Integral Humanism' which in fact flows from India's national heritage. It seeks to satisfy the multifarious urges and aspirations—spiritual, intellectual, economic and social—of the citizens. The social and

economic order is not exploitative. It is cooperative and harmonious and provides for full play of individual initiative and dignity.

The BJP rejects Nehruvian model of development in which after long decades of the so-called planned development, planning and development are in disarray. This model has failed to change the fate of masses. This policy has given rise to 'permit license raj' which has led to price-rise, corruption and black-market and generation of black money.

The development strategy followed during the last several decades in operational terms separates development from employment, treating human beings as a 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 plans 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.

The main impulse for growth in India has to come from its own capital, its own 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. The main elements of the economic policy of the Bharatiya Janata Party are rapid development through full employment with the use 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 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 should be 'integral' and 'non-exploitative' and harmonise the needs of 'body', 'mind', 'intellect' and 'soul' in keeping with Indian culture and tradition. The economic programme of BJP programme follows from the above paradigms, namely Humanism and *Swadeshi*.

BJP rejects both the 'statism' advocated by the communist and 'capitalism' as concentration of economic power either in the hands of the state or in the hands of individuals has its own dangers and leads to corruption of power. Instead BJP favours Gandhian practices to achieve the first principles of Gandhian Socialism namely 'Bread', 'Freedom' and 'Employment', which are the central core of its development strategy and demands reliance on gradual transformation of the society towards trusteeship and cooperative commonwealth. It seeks to harmonise moral and spiritual values with economic well-being in accordance with Indian tradition, culture and civilisation.

Rural Development and Agriculture

The BJP is of the firm view that the integrated development of the rural sector is the pre-requisite of healthy and stable economy. About two-thirds of the population rely on agriculture for livelihood and reside in rural areas. So, the improvement of Indian economy directly depends on agriculture, agricultural growth and on development of rural infrastructure and rural areas. In order to develop rural economy, the BJP focus on maximisation of productivity in agriculture, a farmer free from debt, promotion of village industries and agro-technological network and making available basic amenities such as housing, good schools, vocational training centres, health care, digital connectivity including modern

telecom and IT services, good market infrastructure, roads and power supply safe-drinking water and improved rural sanitation and transport. In order to promote Rural and Agricultural development BJP advocates that about 60 to 70 per cent of total plan outlay should be spent on agriculture and rural development against hardly about 25 per cent outlay in most of the plans since independence.

Steps should be taken to check loot and exploitation of farmers and to protect the interests of farmers while formulating various policies relevant to farmers, such as 'Export-Import Policy' of commodities based on agricultural produce (cereals, edible oils, cotton and tubers), 'Textile Policy' and others.

Farmers should be assured 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, cost of land, family labour and allied economic risks or hazardous factors 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.

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.

Minimum wages for agricultural labour should be raised and renewed periodically. Keeping in view, the cost of living and strictly implemented.

BJP emphasises 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 only administrative enforcement, but by the enlargement of employment by raising crop intensity in agriculture and decentralised rural industry in the non-

agricultural sector.

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.

Adequate attention needs to be paid to horticulture, pisciculture, fisheries, poultry-farming and pigeries to augment rural income.

Efforts to develop waste lands in order to augment production and to encourage dry farming needs to be intensified. As a policy acquisition of fertile land should be avoided.

It is also necessary to evolve a realistic national forest policy with the twin objective of forestation including social forestry and growth of economy. For this purpose plantations wherever feasible should be encouraged. Forests should be viewed less as resource for revenue and more as an instrument for preservation of environment and maintenance of ecological balance.

Agriculture alone will not be able to absorb all the surplus population in the rural areas. Providing non-agricultural occupations in abundance in the rural sector, will only help in dealing with the problems of poverty, unemployment and prevent rush to the cities. This, then, necessitates a shift from capital-intensive production methods to labour-intensive systems. 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. The whole pattern of national investment on social and economic infrastructural development needs a drastic re-orientation.

Improving irrigation facilities is essential. BJP considers that adequate supply of water to every cultivable land must be ensured. For this purpose, River-Linking Project should receive top priority and adequate attention be paid to major medium and minor irrigation projects and comprehensive water management policy evolved and implemented.

In the meeting held at Vijayawada on 24th January, 1987 the National Council of BJP approved a detailed Charter of Rights of Farmers covering various aspects of the problems of farmers and the facilities and rights which they are entitled to. The main basic rights of *Kisans* (Formers) spelled out in this document are given below:

1. At least 70 per cent capital investment of total plan outlay be earmarked for proper development of villages and agriculture.
2. Remunerative and profitable price of agriculture produces keeping in view the total cost and expenses incurred.
3. 2/3rd majority of kisans representation in Agriculture Cost and Price Commission.
4. To maintain parity between the prices of agriculture products and factory products.
5. Declaration of remunerative and profitable prices of agriculture produces well before the sowing of the crops.
6. Statutory provisions for protection of village industries and small-scale industries from deadly rivalry of heavy industries.
7. Guaranteed employment in rural areas.
8. Adequate wages to agriculture labourers for their livelihood.
9. Sufficient and uninterrupted supply of water and electricity.
10. Provision of crop insurance and livestock insurance for the protection and compensation against diseases and natural calamities.
11. Arrangement of minimum necessary civic amenities such as drinking water, road, education, means of transport, public health and hygiene and medical aid etc.
12. In case of land acquisition, lump-sum cash payment be made for acquired land at market rate.
13. Rehabilitation of kisans displaced due to land acquisition for different projects etc.
14. Conventional facilities for 'Gramin' and 'Van Nistar'.
15. Security arrangements for crops from wild animals and thieves.
16. Just and accountable administration at the doors of kisans.

Industrial Sector

BJP Industrial Policy aims at rapid industrial growth, higher productivity, maximisation of efficiency, expanding employment opportunities, a job-oriented development, 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 in the use of national resources. The BJP has always advocated an end to license-permit-quota raj and well-conceived deregulation of industry.

BJP believes that 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 roadblocks 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 possible. Decentralisation of industry will simultaneously lead to lesser impact of pollution, urbanisation and reduce the real cost to the nation's economy.

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. 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.

The BJP favours promotion of four-tiers of industrial sector. These are given below:

- 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. Same investment in village industries creates five times job opportunities compared to the organised industrial sector. Besides, more than 40 per cent of India's export earnings comes from the small industries. The BJP recognises the importance of this sector in the national economy and looks at these industries with increased expectations to achieve balanced development. In order to promote these BJP advocates the following measures:

1. Traditional artisan's services to the nation be accorded due recognition.
2. These artisans may be brought together under clusters of artisans belonging to the same skills and provided with facilities such as processing units, marketing facilities and consultancy services in production technology and marketing so as to provide them remunerative returns and prevent exploitation by middle men.
3. Provision of other facilities such as housing, up-gradation of skills.
4. Encouragement to SC/ST and women entrepreneurs.

Revitalisation of India's Cottage Industry, Art and Handicrafts forms the pivot of the BJP's vision of faster economic growth with equity. It is essential to ensure that the banking sector and Government departments are receptive to the special needs of this sector and there is improvement in linkages with domestic and export markets.

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. In order to encourage and strengthen this sector the BJP would like to adopt the following measures:

1. 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.
2. All small scale sector problems would be cleared through a single nodal agency.
3. 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.
4. Provision for adequate hire-purchase facility for purchase machinery.
5. Common service facilities, including testing and quality control facility under the cluster approach.
6. An agency will be set up to provide marketing assistance and intelligence both in respect of domestic and overseas markets.
7. 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.
8. Small-scale units with high employment investment ratio should get extra tax benefits and credit facilities for providing more employment;
9. Ensure that scheduled castes and tribes receive special attention.
10. 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.

11. 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

The License-Permit-Quota Raj has long stymied Indian industry. If this sector has to grow the License-Permit-Quota Raj must end. BJP believes that 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 remain, 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. The state should lay down compressive guidelines covering all investment related aspects such as location, environmental requirements, industrial relations, foreign investment etc. which the industrial units should follow. Any violation of the set rules should attract penal clauses. There ought to 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
- Hazardous industries after necessary and scientific safeguards and precautions would be allowed at safe distance from cities and densely inhabited areas. Separate industrial satellites would be set up exclusively for such units.

The BJP believes that India can become the manufacturing hub for the world. India's capability to achieve this goal is evident from the highly encouraging initial successes in pharmaceuticals,

automobiles, auto-components, engineering goods and some other products. There is need to provide the conditions for a broad manufacturing base that can export its products all over the world and can compete not only on cost but also on quality and technology. In the process it is necessary to actively facilitate the creation of global Indian brands and Indian MNCs. India's Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), the KVIC sector, and traditional industries such as textiles, gems and jewelers and leather, have huge potential to contribute to this endeavour. This potential needs to be unleashed through suitable policy and institutional measure. Necessary steps should be taken to realise similar growth potential in the food processing, telecom and IT hardware, and other industries.

A competitive manufacturing sector requires the simultaneous fulfillment of various conditions. These include a network of good roads and railways, efficient ports and airports, low-cost and reliable power, cutting-edge communication and IT infrastructure, strengthening of India's core sector oil and natural gas, steel, coal, minerals, metals, quality educational institutions that provide a skilled workforce, a sophisticated financial sector which can meet low cost capital needs of businesses, modern trading environment, and above all, maximum Government facilitation with minimum Government interference. Specifically, firm and quick steps need to be taken to put an end to the tyranny of the Red Tape and the Inspector Raj, which breeds, corruption, drains the growth potential and demotivates Indian entrepreneurs.

During BJP's six-year rule India has successfully embarked on this growth-oriented path. Unlike during the Congress years, the 'Made in India' brand is making waves in global markets. It is possible to envision a future when it will dominate world markets in a wide range of products, creating large-scale prosperity and employment at home.

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 undertakings may now more appropriately be called 'State Sector'.

The major objectives of setting up public enterprises was

to help in the rapid economic growth and industrialisation of the country, create the necessary infrastructure for 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 as there has hardly been any accountability.

It is, therefore, appropriate to review the policy in respect of public sector enterprises. 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. There is need for disinvestments. This should not be in *ad hoc* manner but 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 opportunity to purchase these. Management in these Government enterprises should be entrusted to professionals and should be made fully accountable. The object should be maximisation of productivity, profitability and employees 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

While BJP believes in a society envision by an adequate sense of social responsibility, it does not favour promotion of 'inefficiency' in the working of State or Private enterprises under the high sounding name of social objectives. These objectives should not be used to

dilute pursuit of profitability along with quality and competitive efficiency in these enterprises. Cost of 'social objectives' should be accounted for separately while assessing the performance of enterprises.

Foreign Capital

The BJP believes that every civilisation has its own innate genius. BJP is committed to '*Swadeshi*, the philosophy of India first, and to the path of self-reliance. *Swadeshi* means faith in indigenous institutions and a strong belief that the future of Indias must be secured by Indian themselves.

The BJP believes that India's goal of achieving a double-digit annual GDP growth rate on a sustainable basis can be achieved principally by mobilising our own domestic resources. A strong, efficient and high-growth Indian economy, in which Indian products, services and entrepreneurs dominate the domestic markets and also find place in the global markets, is BJP's concept of *Swadeshi*. This can be achieved by making Indian products and services competitive on both cost and quality through technological upgradation.

The fundamental approach of the BJP is that it is imperative to develop a collective national will and confidence that "India shall be built by Indians". National development will largely depend upon national effort and national capital and savings.

However, the party realises that there is scope to welcome foreign investment and technology in areas where domestic efforts have been weak such as energy, conservation, pollution control, coal washery technology, infrastructure, high-tech, export-oriented and import substitution areas to name a few.

Globalisation

The BJP believes in calibrated globalisation. India must move carefully and gradually towards integration with the global economy. Even as it does so, it must act in a manner that suits its national interest. This strategy recognises that Indian industry needs to gear up in order to compete with global players. All policies should be formulated with a view to protecting the national economy and national interest like all nations do and at the same time not to indulge in economic

isolationism.

International Economic Cooperation

BJP advocates promotion of world economic order where in developing countries would not have to play subordinate role. The BJP, however, was opposed to the signing of Dunkel Draft Agreement by Narasimha Rao's Government and termed it as 'Black Day' in the nation's post-independence history. BJP had been critical of Dunkel Draft Agreement and the proposal of setting up of World Trading Organisation (WTO).

The Bharatiya Janata Party had cautioned the Government of the trap being laid by multinationals and their agents to lure countries like India into opening up their lucrative markets, with grandiose talk about free trade. India had demanded fair trade, not free trade but what India got instead, was the unfairest of trading arrangements in which the rich countries had used their economic and political muscle to ride roughshod over the interests of poor countries and which would keep the Indian consumer as well as the Indian producer perpetually at the receiving end of the powerful multinational corporations.

India lost or capitulated on almost every issue of crucial national interest. It lost heavily in agriculture, textile, exports, intellectual property rights (TRIPS) as well as trade related investment measures (TRIMS) mainly due to failure of the then Congress Government to put up the country's case effectively.

On textiles, the country received a raw deal. The quota regime, the phasing out of which would have been beneficial to India's exports was extended further by ten years.

The net effect of TRIPS would be rise in the prices of drugs and medicines all round. Foreign drug companies have been most unscrupulous in their exploitation of markets in the third world and their clout will increase. Notwithstanding the Government's claims, drug prices will go up five or six times, bringing India's entire health system under severe strains.

As regards the agreement on TRIMS the BJP pointed out that the Dunkel's Draft would sound the death-knell to much of Indian enterprise in the country, with powerful foreign corporations invading everything from drugs and pharmaceuticals to soft drinks

and junk foods.

Even if exports improved, they would increasingly be under the control of foreign companies many of which were gearing themselves for the export of such traditional items as rice, vegetables and fruits, which could for no special marketing or other expertise articles in India. BJP also rejected the Dunkels proposals relating to Agriculture and wanted these to be re-negotiated.

BJP opposed the integration of Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) and social issues such as labour standards and environmental aspects with the World Trade Organisation.

The BJP is committed to a selective approach to foreign investment. The area and quantum of foreign investment are matters to be decided by a sovereign Government keeping in view the local socio-economic compulsions. Allowing foreign investment as a legal right as proposed by the MAI would have led to the imposition of a new form of economic imperialism on the developing countries. The host country would not have been in a position to regulate foreign investment with regard to the area (e.g., high-tech or low-tech), the size of equity participation, repatriation of funds, the employment of local manpower resources, and also the restrictions with regard to export-import. As per the proposed MAI foreign investors could have entered into any area except defence-related industries. As a result, the host country would remain technologically backward as advanced countries were not interested in transferring the state-of-the-art technology. Moreover, employment opportunities to local people would have to fall as there would be a total licence to foreign investors in complete disregard to the laws of the host countries.

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

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

the advanced countries to prevent exports from the developing countries.

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

BJP has, therefore, been urging re-negotiation of Dunkel's proposals especially to ensure that:

1. In agriculture, the decision-making power remains vested in respective countries as at present;
2. The textile quota system is phased out within three years instead of ten years as proposed;
3. The question of reducing customs duties should be on case by case basis keeping in view the prevailing socio-economic situation;
4. There should be no extension of 'product patents' to areas such as drugs, pharmaceuticals, chemicals and agriculture;
5. There should be provision for compulsory licensing of patents;
6. The period of twenty 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;
7. The question of reducing customs duties should be considered on case by case basis keeping in view the prevailing socio-economic situation;
8. Question of allowing foreign banks and insurance companies could be taken up only after deciding entry of Indian private sector into Insurance business that too with provision of free movement of Indian labour.
9. Allowing extension to 'services' should be linked to the free movement of 'provider of services' such as technical, and professional personnel and labour;
10. Dunkel proposals as a 'total package' should not be accepted.
11. 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.

By the time, the BJP-led NDA Government came to power, the Congress Government had already accepted the Dunkel proposals. Government is a continuing entity. The political parties may have differences but the international commitments made by the previous Governments have to be honoured. Narasimha Rao's Government had formally approved the Dunkel's Draft and, therefore, the obligations under the World Trade Organisation (WTO) agreement had to be fulfilled. It was, however, possible to raise issues affecting the developing countries in future negotiations and to protect national interests to the extent possible.

For this purpose BJP-led NDA Government worked towards building up national consensus by involving other political parties, the relevant Non-Governmental organisations and experts in working out the strategy and the approach to be taken at various international conferences convened to consider aspects of Dunkel's Draft. Within Government also the matter was not left only to the Ministry of Commerce. A system of wider consultations with various concerned Ministries was introduced before finalisation of the stand of Government. At international level the Government mobilised support of other developing countries rather than fighting a lonely battle. Significant gains were secured in respect of 'patents' regime regarding essential drugs at the inter-ministerial meeting held at Doha. Similarly, the developed countries were made to agree in view of the concerns of the developing countries to review the issue of Agriculture Subsidy support. In the meanwhile, all out effort was made by various policy decisions and calibrated customs duties regime to prepare the Indian Industry to face the challenge of globalisation. A process of codification of Indian traditional knowledge such as Ayurveda, Yoga and products such as Tulsi, Basmati, Neem was initiated to prevent other countries from getting these patented.

There is now no escape from globalisation. BJP, however, believes that with clear understanding of the country's interests and

through proper strategy and determination the national interests can still be protected.

Poverty Alleviation and Full Employment

The development strategy followed in the last fifty years separates development from employment. Employment has been treated as a by-product and not the main goal of development. The reforms process also made no change as the all-West model of the reforms generates only jobless growth. The BJP believes that it is only through full employment, not just any kind of employment, but gainful and productive employment, that rapid and sustainable development is possible. It is through employment that the real purpose of development, namely the raising of the living standards and dignity of the people, and removal of poverty can be realised.

It is distressing to note that unemployment and underemployment and, consequently, poverty-prevails in India on such a massive scale. Even when the GDP growth rates have increased, employment growth rates have declined in agriculture as well as in industry. The prevailing employment growth rate is less than half of the rate at which addition to the labour force takes place.

The BJP believes in a strategy firmly rooted in the recognition that growth cannot be sustained in the backdrop of accentuation in poverty, unemployment and human misery. Poverty cannot also be wished away through an abstract definition built on calorific value. A meaningful estimation of poverty needs to be structured on the matrix of factors that dilute the quality of life such as illiteracy, lack of sustained employment, malnutrition, lack of shelter, safe drinking water, sanitation and health care. The eradication of poverty is linked with provision of full employment. Thus, the development strategy has to provide central place to provision of meaningful employment.

The following measures are suggested:

1. Sustaining a high GDP growth rate of 8 to 10 per cent yearly; a fast growing economy will create more employment and self-employment opportunities.
2. Raising the employment-elasticity of the economy by focusing the growth in the employment-generating sectors of the economy.
3. Enlarging the scope of coverage and effectiveness of

government schemes that create employment such as the food-for-work, Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana, scheme for employment of the educated youths and other similar schemes.

4. To promote initiatives which have considerable potential for employment generation in rural areas such as agriculture and agro-processing, wasteland development, agro-forestry, social forestry, dairy, poultry, animal husbandry, agriculture extension services, cottage industries, self-help groups, housing and road construction, transportation, micro-water shed development etc.
5. In urban areas, self-employment and entrepreneurship opportunities in retail trade, housing and construction, food, transportation, tourism services, telecom and IT, manufacturing, garments, entertainment, financial services, education and training etc. may be promoted.
6. For enhancing the employability of youths and workers imparting of vocational training and creation of facilities for up-gradation of skills will require priority. Employment needs to be linked with education and job-oriented skills be imparted to students at school level. Colleges need to be encouraged to offer singly or collectively variety of subject and courses in areas that need skilled manpower.
7. A Rural and Urban Employment Guarantee Scheme needs to be introduced in the entire country. For this purpose there will be need for the formation of efficient, meaningful, full employment plans and projects. Techno-economic Project Formulation Bureaus will need to be established covering the entire country.
8. Vocational training and facilities for upgradation of skills needs to be provided.
9. Implementing special employment programme through Panchati Raj institutions.
10. Fully tapping the employment and self-employment opportunities coming up on large-scale in services and in the unorganised sector whose relative weightage in the Indian economy is steadily growing.
11. Extending the benefits of hi-tech methods, materials

and machines in the service of poor. The benefits of modernisation as a result of hi-tech be extended to the rural areas and the potential for employment consequent to these developments be fully utilised.

12. Domestic tourism, adventure tourism and rural tourism has great potential for employment. A comprehensive policy for development of these with supporting infrastructure should receive top priority.
13. Entertainment industry occupies an important place in the cultural and social life of the nation. It has a huge potential for employment generation. This should be fully tapped.

In short, the BJP considers provision of employment and eradication of poverty as central to the development and growth of economy. BJP stands for the 'Right to work' as a fundamental right of the people.

Labour and Wages

1. 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 and compilation of working class indices on scientific basis.
2. 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.
3. BJP believes in the principle of collective bargaining by the labour. To make it effective, outdated labour laws will have to be revised.
4. The representative union needs to be decided by secret ballot.
5. Autonomous Industrial Disputes Tribunals should be set up for speedy and fair settlement of labour problems.
6. 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.

7. 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.
8. 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.
9. Legislation should be enacted to require construction of labour quarters and for the improvement of other welfare facilities.
10. 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.
11. A progressive social security scheme in the unorganised sector is needed. The problems of the labour in the unorganised sector, which constitutes the largest and so far neglected sector, should receive proper attention. Minimum wages to all including farm labourers, converge under a social security scheme and proper working conditions and measures against exploitation be provided. The Government of National Democratic Alliance led by BJP had unveiled a progressive social security scheme for 37

crores people in the unorganised sector. More has to be done in this sector.

Infrastructure

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

Energy Policy

There is acute energy crisis in India, particularly in villages which have remained without any dependable source of energy even after over fifty 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 secure economies in 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 to 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.

Several policy initiatives including enactment of a new Electricity Act were taken by NDA Government to improve availability of power. Similar initiatives were taken in respect of other areas of infrastructure also.

Transport Policy

As the BJP recognises catalytical role being played by the transport network, it would be BJP's 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 throughout 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 to reduce 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 in land water transport and coastal shipping.
- Inter-modal transport system would be encouraged specially to meet the requirements of domestic and foreign trade.

BJP-led NDA launched National Highway Development and Pradhan Mantri Sadak Yojana in order to improve road connectivity in the country. Several other initiatives were also taken with a view to developing an efficient and integrated transports network.

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.

- Private sector's participation will be encouraged in communications sector.
- BJP-led NDA Government took many measures to develop an efficient communication network in the country and to bring about a revolution in the field of communication and internet connectivity.

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. Innovative linkages have to be established so that many day to day requirements of the common man can be satisfactorily met. The introduction of many gadgets, machines and devices which relieve the common man's burden need to be encouraged. The BJP would use science in the service of the poor and would develop technology with a human face. In this context, BJP's 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;
- A systematic effort would be made to bring national laboratories and industry together by setting up of '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.





Chapter VII

Social Sector

Social Policy

An integrated approach to nationhood to society and to the role of the individual in society is the hallmark of Bharatiya Culture. Its first tenet is that India is one country and Indians are one people.

India is one country, but it has diversity of personality, reflecting aspects of national life that are both common and uncommon and which go to weave the rich tapestry of life and culture that is called *Bharatiyata*. This multi-coloured rainbow of *Bharatiyata*, which is only another side of the nation's oneness, is the sheet-anchor of BJP's national and social philosophy.

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

The BJP recognises the sanctity of human personality and the dignity of the individual and pledges to ensure fair play and justice to every section of society to promote and strengthen National Integration. The divisive tendencies evident today are the pernicious effect of the vote bank calculus of the pseudo-secularists which the BJP repudiates.

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

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

The Bharatiya Janata Party's social policy is shaped by and anchored in the principles delineated above, deriving an inspiration from the vision of Mahatma Gandhi, the integral humanism of Shri Deendayal Upadhyaya and the social thoughts of Baba Saheb Dr. Ambedkar. The BJP believes that the very essence of the Indian way of life is change with perception of the needs of changing times.

The BJP has faith in the ideals, principles and goals of equity and equality as enshrined in our Constitution.

The BJP believe in a socio-economic order, which would effectively provide access to equal opportunities for all citizens, irrespective of their caste, creed, religion and gender.

The BJP has faith in the dignity of the individual and in the dignity of work. The BJP believes in eradication of practices, customs, beliefs, usages and institutions which are divisive, discriminatory or in any manner demean the personality of the individual and dignity of the citizens.

The BJP condemns unequivocally the practice of untouchability which is not only against the law, but runs counter to the very concept of integral humanism which forms the bedrock of the party's social and political ideologies. Under BJP's Constitution, only those who do not believe in untouchability can be members of the party.

As regards weaker sections, there is need for making the existing institutions and constitutional safeguards for Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST) and women more effective and representative. BJP proposes special social welfare programmes for all weaker sections, including facilities like medical aid, free elementary education, liberal scholarships for higher education, free or concessional housing, financial support for self-employment and settlement schemes, etc. The atrocities against SC, ST and women

needs to be dealt with firmness.

The lot of the handicapped and disabled should be improved through special facilities, and, if necessary, special legislation, so that they can lead a fruitful life, develop a sense of self-dependence, and contribute to social progress along with other members of the society.

In view of the increase in the life expectancy and rise in the problems faced by senior citizens, adequate measures have to be taken for the welfare of the senior citizens and the aged and for their securities.

The problems of the bonded labour and the unorganised labour have so far attracted only peripheral interest. The BJP expresses its determination to eradicate the demeaning practice of bonded labour and tackle the problems of unorganised labour in a comprehensive manner.

The BJP strongly believes in the equality of men and women and is opposed to any kind of discrimination against them in the name of scriptures, established traditions or social practices and personal laws.

The BJP is concerned about child-labour system prevalent in the country. Children are the future hope of India, and the BJP pledges itself to the all-round development of the younger generation.

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

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

integration.

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

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

Disadvantaged Groups

Tribal

The tribals have been repositories of the forests. Their life revolves round nursing the forest and forest produce has been the main stay of their life for ages. The main source of livelihood of these people has been to grow forests, agriculture, animal husbandry, collection and sale of forest produce and to sell articles made of raw materials obtained from the forests. The tribals are now considered by the Government and authorities concerned as exploiters and enemies of the forest.

The main problems faced by tribals are agricultural land. With the growing pressure due to increasing population the tribals reclaim forest land wherever available but the ownership of such land is not entered into any Government records. They are treated as intruders. In 1980, a law was enacted under which forest land cannot be exchanged without the prior permission of the Central Government. It is, however, imperative that the cases of the tribals should be settled immediately and those, who were in possession of the forest land before this enactment, and were cultivating these are allowed to retain these lands. The eviction of tribals from such land should be stopped.

There are lakhs of villages in the forests today. These villages were set up to get the services and cooperation of the tribals in the development of forests. With the destruction of forests these village have lost their utility. These villages ought to be converted into

revenue villages.

For development of industry, irrigation projects and other development works the land of tribals is acquired at a very nominal rate. It is essential that land for land is given to the tribals and new settlement for their rehabilitation are established. A proper rehabilitation package needs to be evolved in such cases.

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

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

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

Need to Safeguard Interests of the Tribals

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

nationalisation. Therefore, tribals should be provided timber for house-building, bamboo, firewood and pastures to graze their cattle.

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

Employment Problem

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

1. Government should give a guarantee to all the tribal people for providing job and minimum wages throughout the year.
2. Wherever agricultural land is available priority should be given to allot this land to the tribal people expeditiously.
3. Tribal people should be encouraged to set up cottage and small industries such as animal husbandry, dairy farming, poultry, fishery, sericulture and other such industries as are based on forest produce. Suitable arrangements should be made to provide training and guidance to them to set up industries.
4. A tribal is attached to forest by his very nature and he does not feel homely while doing other kinds of work. Therefore, he should be encouraged to engage himself in afforestation, tree plantation and social forestry.
5. Where industries have been set up in the tribal areas priority should be given for their pre-job training and they should be invariably appointed. It should also be ensured that this policy is put into practice.
6. Although provision has been made for reservation of posts for Scheduled Tribes in the services of States as well as of the Centre but this is not followed strictly

in practice. In future causes for this backlog may be ascertained and arrangement should be made to rectify it.

7. Several tribes in the country are engaged in animal husbandry on a large scale mainly to earn their livelihood. These people depend upon forests to graze their cattle. After the nationalisation of forests grazing of cattle in the forest has been prohibited without taking into account difficulties, in finding alternative places grazing cattle such as sheep, goats and camels. Government is also providing loans to the tribal people to purchase sheep, goats, camels and other domestic animals and at the same time not allowing to graze their cattle in the forests. Immediate steps need to be taken to resolve this problem regarding grazing after thoroughly examining it.

Development of Tribal Areas

There is need for accelerated development of tribal areas. Proper tribal sub-plans should be formulated and effective machinery set up for implementation of tribal sub-plans.

Education Problems

Education of tribals should receive proper attention. Schools should be set up in tribal areas. It should be ensured that these are actually functional and do not remain closed on account of absence of teachers.

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

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

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

Problems arising out of conversion

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

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

The BJP pledges to follow policies for bringing out welfare of tribals and solving various problems faced by them.

Scheduled Castes

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

The Scheduled Castes that have contributed so much to Indian society, economy and culture for so many centuries are receiving

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

Social Discrimination

With the advent of Independence, the caste consciousness should have died a natural death. But actually, it has only grown more. The atrocities on Scheduled Castes particularly against their women folk and practice of untouchability in many forms, are continuing unabated. The protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 is not being enforced effectively. There is need for effective enforcement of these legal provisions.

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

Economic Neglect

Notwithstanding the fact that there has been some development activities, under the successive Five-Year Plans, there has not been any perceptible improvement in the living conditions of Scheduled Castes. The expectations of the planners that investment in agriculture and industry would trickle down to the poor have been belied. Janata Government evolved a strategy of Special Component Plan (SCP), which envisaged flow of benefits to Scheduled Castes in proportion to their population, both in financial and physical targets. This has, however, not worked in practice.

There is need for proper and full implementation of SCP and ensuring that special central schemes for Scheduled Castes are fully utilised. It is also imperative that the institutional credit requirement of Scheduled Castes which are getting a raw deal at the hands of commercial bank, are met and suitable mechanism for this purpose may be set up.

Agriculture

Over 76 per cent of Scheduled Caste population are depending on agriculture either as landless labour or as marginal cultivators living below the poverty line. BJP believes in speedy implementation of land reforms and distribution of surplus land to SC and recording of ownership rights where landless Scheduled Castes have been in possession of land for more than 12 years. The rehabilitation of bonded labour on cluster basis and utilisation of their skills should be undertaken. Government must ensure that minimum wages for the agricultural workers are actually paid to them. Pigery, poultry, dairy, pisci-culture and other such programmes should be taken up in a big way by organising SC families in a cluster.

Education

The literacy rate in Scheduled Castes population is very low. The enrolment of SC is poor. The drop-outs in class 1 to 7 is very high.

The BJP, therefore, proposes the following measures:

1. A time-bound, free compulsory basic education for all as enshrined in the Constitution should be implemented.
2. The dual system of Education—one for the classes and the other for the masses, which promotes social discrimination should be abolished and a unified neighbourhood education system be introduced.
3. 6 to 8 per cent of gross national product as against the present 3 per cent should be set apart for Education for effective implementation of the above.
4. Subject to the availability of the SC students all aided Educational institutions, should compulsorily admit at least 15 per cent of SC students in the opening classes.

5. Mid-day meals, supply of free uniforms, and books etc.. should be introduced both in Primary and Middle schools to check the heavy drop-out rate of SC students.
6. The amount of relief in Scholarships and Hostel charges for SC should be increased on the pattern of increase in keeping with the cost of living index.
7. The income limit for the grant of fee-concession and scholarships should be suitably enhanced in view of the erosion in rupee value. For the purpose of income limits only basic pay should be taken into consideration on the pattern of Merit Scholarship.
8. The network of institution for preparatory courses for SC students seeking admissions into vocational technical and professional courses should be started on regular basis as a centrally sponsored scheme so that the reserved seats do not go unfilled.
9. The Adult Education System needs revamping and a new thrust. Unless efforts on war-footing are made to take education to door-steps of Scheduled Castes, adult education will remain a mirage.
10. Provision of incentive scholarships for attendance for girls should be introduced to speed up education among Scheduled Castes.
11. Government Agencies and public undertakings should be made to provide training and special financial incentives to the SC candidates studying in higher and professional courses. These students should be subsequently absorbed by them.
12. SC teachers may be appointed in Adult Education Centres for both males and females.
13. There should be provision of hostels particularly for girls.

Reservation in Services

The underlying idea behind the policy of Reservations was to enable the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes to participate in the administration of the country. The Supreme Court noted: "Obviously Art. 16(4) of the Constitution was not designed to get more Harijans in Government as scavengers and sweepers, but as

officers and bosses, so that administrative power may become the common property of high and low homogenised and integrated into one country.”

A large number of posts reserved for Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes remain unfilled for years. This is not so only in respect of higher posts, but even posts of peons and other Class IV posts are shown as going a begging and subsequently de-reserved. This shows the total failure of Government to implement the Constitutional mandate regarding reservations. The BJP proposes the following measures:

1. The Central and State Governments should enact laws to implement the provisions of Reservations in services contained in Art. 335 of the Constitution, with a penal clause making non-implementation, as cognizable offence.
2. The role of liaison officers must be made fulltime for this purpose.
3. The Roster system is not strictly followed in many departments. Action should be taken against the defaulting departments.
4. Orders should be immediately passed to make up backlog in the Reserved quotas and until the backlog is completed the practice of de-reserving should be given up.
5. The policy of Reservation in promotion should be implemented in order to make up short-falls that have occurred in previous years.
6. Separate cells—SC cells—in all Employment Exchanges and Scheduled Castes should be set up.
7. It must be ensured that in those sectors where Government is extending major financial help the policy of reservation is implemented.
8. SC organisation to keep watch on implementation of service safeguards must be given encouragement, recognition and they should be consulted on a continuing basis.
9. Wherever reservations in higher judicial services have not been provided, they should be provided.
10. Pre-examination coaching centres for all higher posts should be provided in every state for SC candidates.
11. Recruitment of SCs in defence forces should be undertaken.

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

Special Assistance for Scheduled Caste Artisans

The traditional Schedule Caste artisans like leather workers, weavers, fishermen and others need special attention. Concerted efforts should be made to make these artisans economically self-sufficient by upgrading their skills and modernising training process in the villages and by giving common facilities to them. A suitable administrative mechanism should be set up for primary leather workers and other artisans to operationalise assistance to them and ensure their welfare.

Minimum Facilities

Under the minimum needs programme and other Government programmes amenities and facilities like drinking water, housing, health, electricity, link roads and slum improvement are provided to them. The details of facilities are given below:

1. Drinking water sources like overhead tanks should be located near SC *Bastis* and those *Bastis*, which do not have drinking water should be treated on par with problem villages.
2. Pending applications for housing sites should be disposed and construction of houses should be completed within 12 months of allotment of sites.
3. A minimum of 50 per cent of weaker sections Housing

Schemes should be reserved for SCs.

4. The practice of segregation and housing of SC colonies far from the main village should be given up and *pucca* houses built on the same sites where they are now living.
5. HUDCO, LIC etc. should provide loans on easy terms to SC members.
6. 15 per cent of houses and flats built by urban development authorities, Housing Boards etc. should be reserved for SCs.
7. Street lights in SC bastis, one electric point to each house of SCs should be provided free of charge.
8. Fair-price shops of essential commodities should be located as far as possible in each SC *bastis*.
9. Link roads and drainage in SC *bastis* should be provided on priority basis.
10. A time-bound programme for slum improvement should be drawn up for the slums having 50 per cent or more of SC population.
11. On the lines of Tribal Research Institute a scheme of Research and Training for SC should be undertaken in each state by the centre.
12. To put an end to the carrying of night soil as a head load, modern technique to be introduced and effective rehabilitation programme taken up.
13. SC people should not be ousted from their residential plots, small places of work where they are living, working for one year or more without providing a suitable alternative accommodation.
14. The birthdays of Maharishi Valmiki, Guru Ravidas and Dr. Ambedkar should be declared as National Holidays.
15. The SC Welfare Department should be under the charge of Home Ministry.
16. There should be central enactment to implement the provision contained in Article 338 of the Constitution to make the institution of Commission for SC and ST effective, so that the various recommendations contained in its annual reports are implemented.
17. The constitutional guarantees provided for the Scheduled Castes in the Indian Constitution should be made applicable

to all those, who are covered by the definition of Hindu in the Hindu Succession Acts.

Other Backward Classes (OBCs)

The BJP is committed to ensuring social and economic justice to the Other Backward Classes. This is integral to BJP's concept of Social Harmony (Samajik Samarasata). BJP rejects the divisive and casteist politics as that has neither economically empowered the bulks of the OBCs nor reduced their educational backwardness.

BJP holds that the path to progress of all sections of the people lies not through social divisions brought about by the casteist politics but through social harmony.

The BJP is committed to providing both social and economic justice to the socially and educationally backward classes (Other Backward Classes) through the instrument of reservations.

The BJP advocates the following measures for this purpose:

1. Reservation should also be made for other backward classes broadly on the basis of the Mandal Commission Report, with preference to be given to the poor among these very classes.
2. As poverty is an important contributory factor for backwardness, reservation should also be provided for members of the other castes for this purposes. Ten per cent reservation on the basis of economic criteria to all economically weaker sections of society, apart from the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and the Other Backward Classes be also provided.
3. Reservation should be provided on the basis of socio-economic ethos and 'Creamy Layer' should be kept out of the purview of reservation. A uniform criteria may be worked out for demarcating the 'Creamy Layer'.
4. Flow of reservation benefits should be in an ascending order so that the most backward sections of the OBCs get them first. The reservations for the Other Backward Classes should continue till they are socially and educationally integrated with the rest of society.
5. Special programmes to provide education and vocational training will be launched. A chain of first class residential

schools will be started, where the bright children of really poor families of all castes and communities will be admitted, educated and otherwise looked after, to come into their own and enter Services, Business and Professions in open competition.

6. Most of the non-agricultural OBCs are artisans. Some are in traditional industries and professions. They will be provided training, financial support and management facilities for upgradation of skills in crafts, traditional industries and professions.

Minorities

The BJP's concept of Positive Secularism is 'Justice for All, Appeasement of None'. In the name of secularism, the Congress and the United Front parties have pandered to communalism and indulged in vote-bank politics. As a result, members of the minority communities have been reduced to nothing more than numbers to be played with at the time of elections. While these parties have gained, the minorities have lost—as also has India. The minorities have been cynically used for the purpose of garnering votes these past 50 years, but their socio-economic problems have remained unattended. The true meaning of 'secularism', equal respect for all faith—*sarva panth samadar*— has been perverted by the pseudo-secularists into appeasement of regressive elements. BJP instead offers to the minorities equal rights, equal opportunities, equal privileges and equal responsibilities and protection of their honour and dignity. In keeping with this commitment, BJP will:

1. Provide all minority communities with equal opportunities for prosperity;
2. Encourage access to education, which is the key to social and economic progress;
3. Give all incentives to artisans, especially those involved in traditional arts and crafts;
4. Initiate special self-employment schemes and the requisite training programmes;
5. Launch community programmes for raising the level of awareness among women members of the minority communities and providing them with education;
6. Amend Article 30 of the Constitution suitably to remove any

scope of discrimination against any religious community in matters of education;

7. Disband the minorities commission and entrust the responsibilities of the Minorities Commission to the Human Rights Commission, thus, providing greater protection to members of minority communities;
8. Set up special courts to try cases of communal violence and, if necessary, amend existing laws to provide for exemplary punishment to those inciting or taking part in communal or sectarian violence. The BJP's commitment is to create 'a riot-free India';
9. Protect wakf properties from being usurped by unscrupulous individuals and help wakf boards to develop these properties for the welfare of poor Muslim families;
10. Ban job advertisements, which require applicants to declare their religion.
11. Set up trusts with official nominees for managing the affairs of dargahs;
12. Ensure that no religious property is misused or usurped;
13. Ban all foreign funds irrespective of the organisation which is the recipient;
14. Make fraudulent conversions, including those done by holding out the promise of economic or social benefits, punishable offence and introduce a system of registering all conversions.

Women

The BJP believes that true human development cannot take place without the empowerment of women – social, economic and political. It is not enough to talk about removing discrimination against women and establishing gender equality. This will require certain suitable mechanisms for the social, political and economic advancement of women, and to generate social awareness on gender issues. A proper enabling environment will have to be provided to women, which is free from injustice and violence in the public as well as in private sphere, and which would pave the way for women to contribute to every walk of life. This may require enactment of laws and proper and

effective enforcement of existing laws besides creation of public awareness. Empowerment will also require capacity building through education, training and upgradation of skills. Strategies will have to be developed to enable women in balancing work and family by introducing a national child-care plan, greater career opportunities. Every able bodied woman should have at least some source of livelihood so that she can enjoy economic independence within the framework of a harmonious family. In official records of schemes such as giving land or a house woman will be made a joint beneficiary.

To harness the full potential of women, the BJP will:

1. Provide free education to women up to graduation, including professional studies like medicine and engineering;
2. Immediately seek the passage of the Bill reserving 33 percent seats for women in all elected bodies, including the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies;
3. Actively promote the legal and economic rights of women which must be equal to those of men and not subject to the debilitating clauses of personal laws;
4. Entrust the Law Commission to formulate a Uniform Civil Code based on the progressive practices from all traditions. This Code will:
 - (a) Give women property rights;
 - (b) Ensure women's right to adopt;
 - (c) Guarantee women equal guardianship rights;
 - (d) Remove discriminatory clauses in divorce laws;
 - (e) Put an end to polygamy;
 - (f) Make registration of all marriages mandatory.
5. Create conditions in society and workplace to ensure equal opportunities in matters of employment and promotion;
6. Enact and enforce an anti-sexual harassment code;
7. Enforce the principle of equal wages for equal work, both in the organised as well as unorganised sector;
8. Encourage the introduction of part-time and take-home job schemes for working mothers;
9. Promote a health care system, especially in rural areas, that will focus on the non-reproductive health needs of women;

10. Provide assistance to single and working mothers and introduce a forward-looking housing policy for their benefit;
11. Work with State Governments to establish adequate number of working women's hostels and short-stay homes for destitute women;
12. Make women partners in the management of community assets and properties in rural areas;
13. Enroll the help of panchayats to set up latrines for women in rural areas;
14. Expand the scope of the existing micro-credit system through an enlarged corpus to which both the Union and State Governments, apart from banks, will make liberal contributions;
15. Encourage the setting up of cooperative societies in rural and urban areas to be managed by women for the benefit of women entrepreneurs;
16. Introduce skill-based training programmes and self-employment schemes which are area-specific and job-specific;
17. Design special functional literacy programmes for women who have been denied access to education;
18. Amend laws that deal with molestation, rape and dowry, to provide for in-camera trial, swift justice and tough deterrent punishment as well as rehabilitation of the victims of these crimes;
19. Amend the prevention of Immoral Traffic Act to make clients as culpable as commercial sex-workers;
20. Strictly enforce age of consent laws and launch a vigorous campaign against child-prostitution by making it a cognizable offense;
21. Establish family courts in residential areas for speedy disposal of family dispute;
22. Mention of mother's name will be made mandatory on all official documents, starting from a child's birth certificate to a person's death certificate;
23. Set up special courts in every district for the expeditious trial of all civil and criminal cases in which women are the

- accused;
24. Rapidly induct more women in the police force and appoint women to senior positions as well as increase the number of 'Crimes Against Women Cells' so that no police station area is left uncovered.
 25. Enact and strictly implement a special law to deal with domestic violence against women;
 26. Promote a social agenda designed to discourage negative influences and end discrimination against the girl child in any form;
 27. Strictly enforce the existing laws that prohibit unethical practices like pre-natal sex-determination tests, female foeticide and infanticide;
 28. Invest in the girl child's health, nutrition and education, from infancy through adolescence, by formulating appropriate programmes and incentive schemes;
 29. Universalise primary and secondary education to narrow the gender gap;
 30. Prevent media's projection of women in any manner that demeans them or hurts their dignity; and
 31. Set up a national-level apex women's development bank on the lines of NABARD and SIDBI. There is need for setting up a dedicated development bank to cater to the financing needs of women entrepreneurs and the vast number of self-employed women.

Children

In the Indian view of life, an individual is not an independent or sovereign being, but an integral member of the family, community, the nation and the human race. The basic institution that anchors the individual in society and the nation, as also links him to the past and the future, is the family. The BJP believes that the integrity of the family institution is the main guarantor of India's civilisation continuity. Hence, the importance of protection and nurturing of family values and family welfare. Children are central to the family and their proper upbringing development and welfare is important to the family and the society.

India is home to the largest child population in the world.

Every fifth child in the world is an Indian. Hence, what happens to India's children will determine not only India's future, but also the future of the world. For the BJP, securing bright future of India's children is both a moral obligation and a matter of political urgency.

The BJP believes that children have the right to be happy; they have the right to food, shelter and clothes; they have the right to education. But the facts as they exist paint a dismal picture. India has a high infant mortality rate. Many children suffer from malnutrition and hunger. The majority of them have no access to education. Deprived of their childhood, millions of children have to work to feed themselves and contribute to the family income. Constitutional provisions and legal safeguards have been followed more in the breach than in practice. There are more children working in factories and fields than in schools; there are more children living in deprivation than in secure homes. The BJP, in keeping with the Convention on the Rights of the Child, will ensure that the 'best interests' of India's children are taken into account in all situations. Children's rights are the foundation on which better societies can be built and, therefore, BJP will implement the Convention on the rights of the child in both letter and spirit.

The BJP is committed to securing a bright future for India's children. The BJP proposes the setting up a 'National Commission' for children to comprehensively address the issues of education, health care, reduction in infant and maternal mortality, nutrition, recreation, removal of gender disparities, elimination of child labour, integrated care and rehabilitation of orphans and street children, etc.

BJP believes in the charter of children's rights:

1. Children's right to survive and develop to their full potential.
2. Children's right to the highest attainable standard of health care through compulsory health check and by strengthening the world's largest early child care programme. The Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS).
3. Children's right to be registered immediately after birth.
4. Children's right to protection from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse.
5. Children's right to play.

6. Children's right to education.
7. Children's right to shelter.
8. Children's right not to be subjected to child labour. Child labour must be eliminated. For this purpose the child labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act be amended and the distinction between hazardous and non-hazardous processes removed. It is also essential to provide, welfare benefits, especially social assistance to poor families, aimed at ensuring a minimum income and, thus, removing the need to rely on their children's labour.

Welfare of persons with physical and other disabilities

There are about five crore Indians, who are suffering with physical and other disabilities. These persons have been socially, politically and economically marginalised. Successive Congress Governments have not only abdicated their responsibilities towards these less fortunate citizens but also resisted their empowerment and inclusion in national mainstream.

The BJP believes that those, who have been excluded from playing a participatory role in the nation-building process by being stigmatised as 'disabled', should be empowered so that they become productive, proud citizens of the country. Towards this end, the BJP proposes to:

1. Order a special survey to collect data about the number of people who are physically and otherwise disabled and the nature of their disability;
2. Use this data to formulate policies aimed at empowerment rather than merely welfare;
3. Actively campaign to remove social prejudices;
4. Sensitise the bureaucracy to the needs and aspirations of the disabled people;
5. Provide employment in all suitable categories of Government service through a policy of equal opportunity;
6. Give incentives to the private sector to provide disabled people with job opportunities;
7. Offer medical, counselling and rehabilitation facilities at health care centres by increasing budgetary allocation and encouraging State Governments to make a matching

contribution; and

8. Ensure that disabled people have access to public utilities and services.

NDA Government took several measures to augment facilities for education training and skill formation of these persons. Efforts were also intensified to operationalise reservation of jobs in Government service through proper enforcement. Measures were taken to provide access to these persons to public building, public services and utilities. There is, however, need for more efforts in this direction and for creating public awareness.

Senior Citizens

Respect for elders has always been at the centre of India's social traditions and cultural ethos. Being repositories of knowledge and experience, they are a precious asset to society. However, they have been facing many problems with rapid urbanisation and changes in the traditional joint families. The number of senior citizens is also increasing with improvement of health standards in the country. There is need to provide adequate social security and to ensure that their savings are not eroded. Some measures were taken in this regard. Schemes of old age pension for the poor, were strengthened. The dearness relief to pensioners was liberalised. Lower income tax rates for pensioners was introduced. Higher rates of interest to senior citizens on investment in certain approved schemes was provided. Assistance was given for building homes for old aged people, but these measures though welcome are not enough.

BJP, therefore, recognises the need to have a National Policy for senior citizens. The policy must aim at dealing with various problems of these citizens including that of security and evolving schemes for utilising the experience, talent and expertise of the senior citizens.

Education Policy

BJP appointed a Committee with Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi as Convenor in March 1981 to prepare a 'Draft Statement on the Education Policy'. This statement was discussed by the National Executive at Cochin on 23rd April, 1981. It was decided to circulate

the document to Members of the National Executive, State Units and Prominent Educationists for their valuable comments.

The statement spelled out the 'National Objectives' of the education system as follows:

"Considering the supreme importance of the role of education in national development, it is distressing that our educational endeavours in the last three decades should have been characterised by evident infirmity of purpose. We inherited from our colonial past a largely imitative system of not very high quality, and even that quality would seem to have declined in recent years. A firm resolve to reverse this trend and build up a system worthy of the genius of our heritage and the undoubted capacities of our youth, is a matter of urgency.

The BJP would suggest a bold and imaginative educational programme, which:

- is directed towards the full development of individual personality, so as to equip him to contribute his best for enriching the quality of life in Indian Society and to attain those standards of material, intellectual and cultural advancements which the country wants to achieve;
- is related to productivity, and leads to eradication of poverty;
- helps in modernising the society and in quick assimilation of science and technology, with work experience and dignity of manual labour as an essential part of education;
- leads to the adoption of democracy as a way of life, helps in the establishment of an egalitarian society, fosters national and social integration and promotes a healthy international outlook;
- inculcates, necessary and desirable moral and social values and self-discipline;
- creates faith in the dignity and liberty of the individual and brings the realisation that individual fulfillment is best achieved through social advancement;
- inspires confidence in the future of India as a nation cherishes the best of Indian traditions and heritage, develops pride in its achievements, and offers internationally comparable standards of training so as to produce world leaders in

different fields.

Poverty and illiteracy go hand in hand. The main thrust of any National Programme of Education should, therefore, be simultaneous eradication of both. Education should cater both to the needs of life and living.

The National Executive in its meeting at Chandigarh on 4th January, 1986 adopted a 'Statement of Education Policy'. It was pointed out in this statement that the 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 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 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 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 is firmly of the opinion that faster economic growth cannot be an end in itself; rather, it is a means to ensure a high quality of life to all citizens by fulfilling their material needs and satisfying their social, educational and cultural aspirations.

Both the society and the Government at all levels must give top priority to meeting the goal of 'Quality Education for All' since education aids both economic growth and social development. Its importance in the emerging knowledge economy has increased manifold. Enriched human resources of our one billion population can propel India into a higher orbit of development with limitless possibilities in the new century.

The BJP's ideal of good education is one expressed in Swami Vivekananda's profound words: "Education for man-making nation-building". India needs a system of education that opens the doors of knowledge to all citizens, develops their talents and skills, anchors them strongly in human values and Indian culture, reinforces their patriotism and equips them to explore opportunities, both in India and abroad.

BJP advocates the following strategy for overcoming these challenges and unleashing the potential of India's enviable human resources:

1. Steadily raising the total spending on education to 6 per cent of GDP with enlarged public-private partnership.
2. Top priority should be given to universalisation of education.
3. Achieving complete eradication of illiteracy within a time frame. A multi-pronged campaign may be launched to ensure that every child goes to school, every school is made accountable to the community, and every village and town is made accountable for its quality status school. Innovative tools like community-based and TV promoted functional literacy programmes are employed. The 'Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan' launched by BJP-led NDA Government is made into a people's movement.
4. The measures aimed at education of the girl-child, and spread of modern education among Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, other backward classes and minorities are intensified. Free education to women up to graduation including professional studies.
5. Improving the standards of education at all levels of the education pyramid from primary to university.
6. Making quality education affordable to a common Indian

family. No student should be deprived of access to higher education for lack of resources. Hence, scholarships and soft loans should be made widely available.

7. While encouraging private investment, necessary steps be taken to check commercialisation of education.
8. The focus on Indian culture, heritage and ethical values in syllabi be strengthened. Character-building and all-round development of the student's personality, sports, physical training and social service be mainstreamed into the educational system.
9. Rectifying the biases in history education.
10. The entire school and college system needs to be overhauled and made employment-oriented. Opportunities for skill development and vocational training to be maximised.
11. De-bureaucratising the administration of the educational institutions; autonomy to centres of excellence; empowering teachers; and maximising community participation.
12. Enlarging the partnership between Government and the private sector, and between industry and universities to promote world-class R & D.
13. Making India a preferred higher education destination for students from all over the world. This would not only reduce huge spending abroad by rich Indians, but also enable India to earn significantly from higher education for this purpose the important universities and colleges (both existing and proposed) will be elevated to international standards in every respect. All the Indian Institutes of Technology, National Institutes of Technology, Indian Institute of Management, Indian Institutes of Science, All India Institutes of Medical Sciences and other reputed higher educational institutes will be further strengthened and supported. More such institutes will also be established.
14. Implement Article 45 of the Constitution to give free education to all children in the 6-14 age group, evolve a new strategy for a teacher-oriented expansion programme for this.
15. Launch an Adult Literacy Programme.
16. Make the universities and colleges adopt localities and villages and help them in their overall development;

17. Supply subsidised textbooks and writing materials, develop book-banks in the educational institutions.
18. Delink jobs from degrees.
19. The BJP supports the principle that people have a right to be educated and run their administration in their own language.
20. Implement the three-language formula to make adequate arrangements for language teaching so that persons knowing different Indian languages are available in each region.
21. Promote the study of Sanskrit language as the storehouse of ancient Indian wisdom.

Health and Nutrition

The BJP believes that health care is a basic need and rightful entitlement of every citizen. A majority of children born in families below poverty line are undernourished and show signs of mental retardation chiefly due to protein deficiency. Health care to all citizens is the primary duty of the state. Wrong policies and inadequate resource allocation, and neglect of India's traditional wisdom by the Congress Governments have created daunting problems in this field. The BJP's strategy to overcome them, and to enable India to move quickly towards the goal of 'Health for All' is guided by the following principles:

1. The centre and State Governments should together facilitate manifold increase in spending on health care, with enlarged public-private partnership. At present, the public spending on health care is 2 per cent of GDP. This should be enhanced.
2. The priority of public spending should be on primary health care, with a focus on preventive rather than curative measures. BJP considers hygiene, sanitation and nutrition as more important than medicine and hospital.
3. Increasing people's awareness about health issues and making them take good care of themselves by cultivating healthy habits and lifestyles; towards this end, building a

strong physical and sports culture among all age-groups.

4. Health care should be made affordable to the poor and middle classes.
5. The NDA Government's good work in promoting Yoga, Ayurveda, Naturopathy and other systems of indigenous medicine should be vastly intensified.
6. Along with Allopathy, recognise and promote Ayurveda and Siddha, Unani and Homoeopathy, Chromopathy and Nature Cure, and in general encourage holistic healing. These different systems to be synergised in the delivery of health care and in medical education.
7. Supply free milk and nutrition to children in primary schools, and give every child an annual physical check-up.
8. Improve the present district hospitals, and set up similar hospitals at taluka level.
9. Give every village a health care centre to take particular care of expectant mothers and provide them with adequate nourishment.
10. Have a Mobile Dispensary in each taluka.
11. Build more and better public latrines, particularly for women in villages.
12. Organise eye camps, and camps for other serious ailments in various areas.
13. To make arrangements to make essential medicines available cheap to people.
14. Implement a programme to control eradication of the communicable diseases.
15. Take effective measures against drug addiction and alcoholism.
16. Private and foreign investment in tertiary and super-specialist health care should be encouraged. However, all private health care establishments should have enhanced obligation for treating poor patients.
17. Public-private partnerships should be institutionalised on the widest possible scale.
18. Concerted efforts should be made for India's emergence as a centre of health tourism.
19. An insurance-based health security scheme, called Antyodaya Swasthya Yojana, be started to cover two crore

poorest among the BPL families.

20. India to be made Polio-free country.
21. National TB Control Programme, eradication of filaria within a given time frame, National Programmes on malaria, blindness, leprosy, mental health, prevention of HIV/AIDS and care and support for AIDS Programmes to be strengthened and made more effective.
22. Save the 'Girl Child' campaign to be further popularised.
23. The ageing population needs special care. Facilities for health care for senior citizens provided to be in all Government hospitals and dispensaries.
24. Efforts will be intensified to make India a preferred global destination for health care. India's large reservoirs of skilled doctors, nurses and other paramedical staff along with the state-of-the-art facilities in hospitals have a huge potential, which will be nurtured and realised. Simultaneously, steps will be taken to improve the standards of excellence in medical education, nursing and other areas. An Action Plan will be drawn up to pursue this goal.
25. The menace of spurious drugs shall be controlled.





Chapter VIII

Politics of Untouchability

'Politics of Untouchability' has been a feature of Indian politics. Earlier its target was Jana Sangh, now the BJP is considered by some political parties as 'untouchable'. Practically right since its foundation in 1951, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been regarded as a veritable '*achhoot*' in Indian politics. So long as its founder Dr. Mookherji was alive, this attitude was somewhat subdued. But after his tragic death in 1953, this attitude ossified. Intermittently, there used to be phases like the Samyukta Maharashtra movement, where the sheer compulsions of political arithmetic would prompt others to overlook for the time being Jana Sangh's untouchability and have business with it. But generally speaking, this attitude persisted.

In December 1967, the Jana Sangh held its Plenary Session at Calicut in Kerala. The Session was presided over by the Deendayal Upadhyaya. In his valedictory address, he made a memorable point. He said that the enlightened mind of the country regards untouchability in social life as a sin. But curiously, in political life, the practice of untouchability is something that the same enlightened people feel proud about. Often, it is failure to practise political untouchability that comes in for severe condemnation. Upadhyaya was, therefore, underlining a truth valid for all times.

When it suited these parties politically, they over looked this aspect. This happened in SVD era when CPI along with Bharatiya Jana Sangh formed the Government in some states. These parties, however, switched back to their position once the political

compulsions were over.

Socialist Leader Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was non-conformist. In many matters, he was an iconoclast.

He was an admirer of Jana Sangh's patriotism and discipline. He was conscious of the fact that the charges of communalism and economic reactionarism leveled against Jana Sangh were not fair.

Personally, Dr. Lohia began fraternising with the Jana Sangh. He attended some of Jana Sangh Camps and addressed Jana Sangh cadres. He afterwards issued a joint statement along with Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya on the question of Indo-Pak relations.

It used to be Dr. Lohia's firm conviction that all Opposition efforts to oust the Congress Government, at the Centre and in the States, would prove sterile unless the Jana Sangh was involved in whatever concerted strategy the Opposition could draw up.

In 1963, there were three Lok Sabha Bye-elections for which three senior Opposition leaders, Minoo Masani, Deendayal Upadhyaya and Dr. Lohia himself contested. It was the first time perhaps that major Opposition parties had open seat adjustments, and pooling of Opposition resources. Upadhyaya campaigned for Lohia in Farrukhabad and Lohia campaigned for Upadhyaya in Jaunpur this, despite the Opposition of the local socialists of Jaunpur.

It was Lohia's perseverance that really paved the way for the formation of S.V.D. Governments in the States of Bihar, UP and MP in 1967. The phase did not last long. The Governments fell under the weight of their own contradictions. But at subsequent meetings, they stayed away. They could not participate in parleys when Jana Sangh also was there, they said.

Later in 1974, JP tried hard to involve the CPI (M) also in his movement. CPI (M) leaders often indicated sympathy for the movement's aims, but hesitated joining lest they be contaminated by Jana Sangh's company.

The biggest contribution made towards removing Jana Sangh's stigma of political untouchability was made by Jayaprakash Narayan. Repeatedly, he was confronted with situations where the Jana Sangh's participation in his movement seemed to provide an excuse for someone else to keep out. He could have one or the other, he could not have both, he was told. He made the choice unhesitatingly in favour of Jana Sangh. Thus, there were groups or parties, which

were unwilling to associate with Bharatiya Jana Sangh.

In 1974-75, Jayaparkash Narayan had convened a meeting of party representatives and a host of other independents in connection with his movement. Addressing the Conference, Shamim Ahmed Shamim then a Lok Sabha Member from Jammu and Kashmir, observed that Muslims had not been attracted to J.P.'s movement because of the presence of Jana Sangh.

The remark provoked an immediate intervention from Vajpayee. The Jana Sangh he said, would very much like all sections of society to be involved in J.P.'s movement and if Jana Sangh's presence was causing problems, the Jana Sangh was willing to stay out.

Neither in tone nor in expression was Vajpayee's intervention a threat. It was a bonafide offer. But all in the hall were aflurry trying to reassure Vajpayee that other participants in the conference did not subscribe to these views, and that they would very much like the Jana Sangh to continue in the movement as actively as ever. J.P.'s attitude had infected everyone.

In 1975, when the elections for Gujarat Assembly were announced Jana Sangh suggested to Morarji Desai the setting up of Common 'Janata Candidates' on behalf of Opposition parties, namely Congress (O), BJP, BLD and Socialists. BLD and Socialists were virtually non-existent in Gujarat. Thus virtually, the Congress (O) and Jana Sangh mattered in these elections. Morarji was inclined in favour of the suggestion, but Hitendra Desai, the Congress (O) Chief in Gujarat was opposed to a tie-up with Jana Sangh and wanted Congress (O) to go alone in the election.

Morarji Desai was convinced that Hitendra Desai's was an irrational attitude and had made up his mind to go ahead with the Janata Front irrespective of how Hitendra Desai reacted. The Janata Morcha was formed. Hitendra Desai quit Congress (O) and after the elections, joined Indira Gandhi. Janata Morcha succeeded in this election and formed the Government.

Like Morarji Desai throughout the two and a half years of Janata's existence, Chandrashekhar, Jagjivan Ram and Dandavate — to name three of the front ranking leaders of the party maintained a correct attitude towards former Jana Sangh members. But they had constantly been under pressure from sections, who would like to use Jana Sangh's historical untouchability as a weapon for intra-

party faction fighting, little realising that by so doing they were only exposing the party to the disruptive tactics of the enemies of the Janata Party. These sections kept talking about the need to contain the Jana Sangh.

At the party's National Executive meeting of Janata Party held early in September 1979, L.K. Advani spoke about this history of the ostracism of Jana Sangh, and said that in March 1977, this was formally ended. "The Janata Party had five constituents—Congress (O), BLD, SP, CFD and Jana Sangh. Of these, politically speaking, the first four were 'dwijas', the twice-born members of the party, while the Jana Sangh was kind of a 'Harijan adopted' into the family.

On the occasion of the 'adoption' there was a lot of re-joining and festivity. But as time passed, the presence of a Harijan born in the family began to pose problems for it. Enemies of the family began ostracising the family on the ground that it had a Harijan in its fold. You throw out the Jana Sangh, only then can we have communion with you: this became the attitude of quite a few in the political world towards the Janata Party. Not that they have anything to complain about the conduct of the Harijan boy. In fact, they often praise him. But they cannot forget his caste. It is his parentage that is the obstacle."

The ostracism of Jana Sangh did not prevent the formation of the Janata Party, the winning of 1977 General Election to Lok Sabha and formation of Janata Government, it was, however, used as pretext for inter-party faction fighting to satisfy personal ambitions. This happened despite the fact that the erstwhile Jana Sangh members of the Janata Party were not seeking any position either in the Government or in the party and were content with whatever was given to them and were, thus, not involved in these faction fightings. They were mainly interested in maintaining the unity and stability of the party and its Government.

Even when the split or betrayal of the Janata Party was taking place, it was hinted that this process could stop if Jana Sangh was no longer there in Government. Vajpayee and L.K. Advani conveyed their readiness to quit the Government if it was going to help the Government. The real factor for split was not, however, the presence

of Jana Sangh in Government, but the personal ambition of Charan Singh to become the Prime Minister.

It is the same consideration of desire to capture the Janata Party and the fear that the erstwhile Jana Sangh constituent may not capture it on account of its disciplined and dedicated cadre made the National Executive of Janata Party to bar members of the RSS from becoming members of Janata Party.

After the formation of Bharatiya Janata Party this 'ostracism' against Jana Sangh was transferred to BJP. This has nothing to do with either the basic philosophy, ideology, aims and objectives, programmes of BJP or the performance of BJP's Governments. The objective is to paint BJP as a 'communal party' and thereby to inject insecurity amongst muslims and to play a game of vote-bank politics.

The BJP seeks to build India as a 'strong and prosperous nation'. The emphasis is on 'modern, progressive and enlightened outlook', which draws inspiration from India's ancient culture and values.

The aims of the party is to establish a democratic state which guarantees to all citizens irrespective of caste, creed, or sex, political, social and economic justice and equality of opportunity. The party stands for liberty of faith and expression to all its citizens. The party bears allegiance to the Constitution of India and to the principles of socialism, secularism and democracy and is determined to uphold sovereignty, unity and integrity of India.

The philosophy of BJP is 'Integral Humanism'. The party is also committed to nationalism and national integration, democracy Gandhian Socialism, positive secularism and value-based politics.

There is nothing communal or narrow in these objectives, philosophy or commitments. The BJP stands for equal treatment for all its citizens and does not believe in discrimination either on the ground of religion, caste or sex. It stands for making India into a modern and progressive state rooted, of course, in India's culture and values.

In the Election Manifesto for Lok Sabha Election-1984, the BJP stated:

‘National Unity And Positive Secularism’

“BJP is pledged to defend the unity and integrity of India, it believes that India, from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari, is one country, and all Indians, irrespective of language, caste or creed, are one people.

Unity in diversity has been the hallmark of Indian culture, which is a unique multi-headed synthesis of the cultural contributions made over the centuries by different peoples and religions. In Indian tradition, since times immemorial, the state has always been a civil institution, which makes no distinction between one citizen and another on grounds of his religion. The very idea of a theocratic state is alien to Indian political history. So, when India became independent in 1947, we, very naturally declared ourselves a secular state, unconcerned that Pakistan had opted for theocracy.

It is this positive concept of secularism to which BJP is committed. Secularism should not be allowed to become a euphemism for appeasement, alternately of this community, or that, or a sordid political device to garner bloc-votes.”

In the Manifesto of Lok Sabha Elections-1989, the concept of ‘Secularism’ dear to BJP was again spelled out:

‘National Unity and National Integration’

“India is one country, and all Indians irrespective of caste, creed or language are one people, one nation.

The idea of a theocratic state is an anathema to Indian mind and the BJP believes that state in India has always been a civil institution which respects all religions equally and makes no discrimination between one citizen and the other on the grounds of language, gender, caste or religion.

It is the duty of the state to guarantee justice and security to all minorities – linguistic, religious or ethnic. The BJP considers that it is also imperative for National Integration that minorities do not develop a minority complex.”

In the Election Manifesto for 1991 Lok Sabha Election, it was pointed out that India is not a theocracy :

“We have never had a theocracy, with a State Religion in India. In fact, it is not possible in India because of its inherent magnanimous cultural heritage. This being our tradition there is no room for

discrimination against anybody on grounds of caste, creed, language or region. It is the duty of the state to ensure justice for all citizens and for all sections of society. The Bharatiya Janata Party is wedded to National Unity and National Integrity.”

In the Election manifesto for 1996 Lok Sabha Elections, BJP indicated its commitment to social reconciliation:

“The BJP believes in one nation, one people, and one culture. We are, therefore, committed to promoting social reconciliation rather than conflict. We are resolved to put an end to the politics of competitive communalism, of appeasement, and of casteism. The politics of pitting caste against caste, community against community and class against class has torn asunder our social fabric. The BJP will reweave this fabric into a harmonious pattern.”

In the Election Manifesto for 1998 Lok Sabha Election, the BJP spelled out ‘Cultural Nationalism’:

Cultural Nationalism

“The BJP is committed to the concept of ‘One Nation, One People and One Culture’. The unique cultural and social diversity in India is woven into a larger civilisational fabric by thousands of years of common living and common and shared values, beliefs, customs, struggles, joy and sorrow, as well as symbols of high degree of unity without uniformity. Our nationalist vision is not merely bound by the geographical or political identity of ‘Bharat’ but it is referred by our timeless cultural heritage. This cultural heritage, which is central to all regions, religions and languages, is a civilisational identity and constitutes the Cultural Nationalism of India, which is the core of *Hindutva*. This we believe is the identity of our ancient nation ‘*Bharatvarsha*’.

Every effort to characterise *Hindutva* as a sectarian or exclusive idea has failed as the people of India have repeatedly rejected such a view and the Supreme Court, too, finally endorsed the true meaning and content of *Hindutva* as being consistent with the true meaning and definition of secularism. In fact, *Hindutva* accepts as sacred all forms of belief and worship. The

evolution of *Hindutva* in politics is the antidote to the creation of vote-banks and appeasement of sectional interests. *Hindutva* means justice for all.

The BJP is convinced that *Hindutva* has immense potentiality to re-energize this nation and strengthen and discipline it to undertake the arduous task of nation-building. This can and does trigger a higher level of patriotism that can transform the country to greater levels of efficiency and performance.

Thus, it is clear that BJP's objectives philosophy, commitment and promises made to the people from time to time rule out communal or caste politics. BJP stands for cultural nationalism and *Hindutva*, which denotes respect for all forms of beliefs and worship. There is no room for a theocratic state or any discrimination between one citizen or another on the ground of language gender, caste or religion.

The BJP, thus, believes in positive secularism. It does not believe in appeasement of minorities or minoritism, in vote-bank politics or in promoting caste-divide. The party or the Government of the party or coalitions led by the party, both at the Centre and the State have followed these principles, both in action and policies followed.

Yet, it is constantly preached by Congress, Left Parties and some other parties that while they represent secularism, the Jana Sangh earlier and now BJP stand for communal politics. This is a lie which has been dished out for years to promote a sense of insecurity in the minorities and to get their votes. These so-called secular parties have thrived on vote-bank politics and have deliberately hindered social reconciliation. Some of these parties have promoted caste politics as well. Instead of working for social harmony they have indulged in politics of conflict, of competitive communalism, of appeasement of minorities and promoting castism. These so-called secular parties have indulged in politics of caste against caste, community against community, class against class and have caused great harm to the social fabric.

Their concern for minorities, castes or class is also not genuine. The Congress has been in power for several decades, leftist and parties believing in caste politics have also been in power in some states for long periods and in spite of this

except for paying lip sympathies they have not done much for their economic and social welfare or for bringing them in the main stream of the country. These parties have neglected the genuine welfare of either the minorities or the caste or class they profess to represent. Their interest has primarily been in using them as vote-bank and as they feel threatened by the emergence of BJP as an important pole of Indian politics, they incite them against BJP by false propaganda and misrepresentation of what BJP stands for. It is for this reason they indulge in the game of untouchability and ostracism against BJP. Many of these parties or leaders have taken support from Jana Sangh/ BJP when it suited them or when they expected to gain, but disowned Jana Sangh/BJP after their objective was fulfilled or they felt they did not need the support any longer. In this category, fall parties like CPI which formed Government in coalition with Jana Sangh in SVD era, and leaders like Charan Singh, who had no problem with Jana Sangh if it helped him to fulfil his ambition. V.P. Singh became Prime Minister of India in the National Front Government with the outside support of BJP and at that time BJP was acceptable to him. But after BJP withdrew support and his Government fell and he has been a bitter critic of BJP, and has been calling it a communal party. So is the case with Ram Vilas Paswan. He has been a Minister in NDA Government led by the BJP, then he did not find BJP a communal party, but after he left that Government he has become 'secular'. and BJP communal. Shri Lalu Prasad Yadav became Chief Minister in Bihar for the first time with the outside support of BJP. At that time BJP was acceptable. Today with his narrow caste and appeasement of minorities politics, he is secular while BJP has become 'untouchable'. When Congress joins Muslim League in Kerala in a coalition Government, this is a secular act and in the same manner when it follows the politics of 'appeasement and 'vote-bank politics' it is a 'secular act,' while when the BJP talk of Cultural nationalism and equal treatment to all citizens it is branded communal. When Ram Vilas Paswan talks of Muslim Chief Minister in Bihar, this is a secular. Such is the hypocrisy of these so-called secular parties and their pseudo-secularism.

This game of 'untouchability' has been going on for too long.

The politics of 'appeasement' and of 'vote bank' has dominated India politics for about six decades since independence. This cannot go on forever. The voters are becoming conscious and are seeing through this game gradually. In the recent elections in Bihar in 2005, there is a ray of hope. The voters demand their genuine welfare and real development and are beginning to see through this game of vote-bank politics and have, therefore, exercised their franchise without consideration of caste and religion.





Annexure I

CONSTITUTION AND RULES OF BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY

As Amended by the National Council at

Delhi on 6th February, 2004

CONSTITUTION AND RULES

Article I: NAME

The name of the Party shall be 'Bharatiya Janata Party' (hereinafter referred to as 'The Party').

Article II: OBJECTIVE

The 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 ancient 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.

The party aims at establishing a democratic state, which guarantees to all citizens irrespective of caste, creed or sex, political, social and economic justice, equality of opportunity and liberty of faith and expression.

The party shall bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India as by law established and to the principles of socialism,

secularism and democracy and would uphold the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India.

Article III: BASIC PHILOSOPHY

Integral Humanism shall be the basic philosophy of the party.

Article IV: COMMITMENTS

The party shall be committed to nationalism and national integration, democracy, Gandhian Socialism, Positive Secularism, that is, '*Sarva Dharma Sama Bhava*' and value-based politics. The party stands for decentralisation of economic and political power.

Article V: FLAG

The flag of the party shall comprise of two vertical colours – saffron and green, in the ratio of 2:1 with the election symbol of the party in blue colour in the middle of the saffron portion equal to half of its size. The green portion will be near the mast.

Article VI: ELECTION SYMBOL

The election symbol of the party shall be 'Lotus.'

Article VII: ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

1. National level:
 - (a) The Plenary or Special Session of the Party;
 - (b) The National Council; and
 - (c) The National Executive.
2. State level:
 - (a) State Councils; and
 - (b) State Executives
3. Regional Committees
4. District Committees
5. Mandal Committees
6. Gram/Shahari Kendra
7. Local Committees.

Note:

1. The area of a Mandal or a Local Committee will be determined by the State Executive concerned. No Local

Committee shall have more than 5,000 population.

2. Area of a district shall ordinarily be the same as of an administrative district in a state unless the State Executive determines otherwise, but all cities with more than 5 lakh population may be treated as separate districts.
3. A city area with more than 20 lakh population may be divided into more than one district as may be determined by the State Executive concerned.

Article VIII: AREA OF STATE UNITS

The State Units of the party conform to the state and union territories mentioned in the Constitution of India.

Provided that the National Executive may sanction setting up of Regional Committees for a metropolitan area of any of the specified area within the jurisdiction of the State Unit. The powers and functions of such committees shall be defined by rules made by the National Executive.

Article IX: MEMBERSHIP

- (a) 1. Any Indian citizen of the age of 18 years or above who accepts Articles II, III and IV of the Constitution shall, on making a written declaration in the Membership Form (Form-A) and on payment of a prescribed subscription, become a member of the party, provided that he is not a member of any other political party.
2. The term of membership will ordinarily be of 6 years (as decided by the National Executive from time to time). With the beginning of the new term, all members of the party will have to fill membership forms again. In the meantime, membership will cease by death, resignation or removal.
3. No person shall become a member except in his place of permanent residence or where he carries on his usual vocation but at one time he shall not be a member at more than one place.
4. The member will have to apply in writing to the district/ state concerned for a change of place.
- (b) The subscription received from the members shall be

distributed in the following proportion among the units every two years:

National 10%, State 15%, District 25% and Mandal 50%

Article X: TERM

The term of each Council/Executive/Committee and all office-bearers and members thereof shall ordinarily be two years.

Article XI: REGISTER OF MEMBERS

1. A Register of Members of Local Committee area-wise shall be prepared by the Mandal Committee duly authenticated and certified by the District Executive in accordance with the rules prescribed by the National Executive. A copy of the verified Membership Register will be sent to the concerned Local Committee and the District Committee.
2. The Register so prepared shall contain the full name, father's/husband's name, age, occupation, address, serial number of membership form and the date of enrolment of every member as well as the year and membership form number of his first enrolment in the Bharatiya Janata Party.

Article XII: ACTIVE MEMBER

1. To become an Active Member of the party:
 - (a) His membership of the Party should not be less than 3 years.
 - (b) He will deposit an amount of Rs. 100 (personally or by collection) alongwith his active membership form. Even if his form is not accepted this amount would not be refunded.
 - (c) He will participate in programmes of party including agitational programmes.
 - (d) He will subscribe to party magazine—State or Central.
2. Only an Active Member will be eligible to contest elections for a Mandal Committee or become member of any Committee or Council above the level of a Mandal Committee.
3. At the beginning of every term each Active Member will fill in Form-B and submit it to his District Office.

4. For every term, all Active Members enrolment forms would be forwarded with the recommendation of the District President. These forms will be considered by a Three-man Sub-committee, two of whom will be appointed by the District President and one to be appointed by the State President to be its Chairman.

The Committee will also exempt certain cases as laid down in Sub-rule 1 (a) and (c). The decision of the Sub-Committee will be notified in the District Office.

An appeal against the decision of the District Sub-Committee shall lie within 10 days with a Three-man Committee constituted by the State Executive.

A second appeal over the decision of state Three-man Committee will lie with a national Three-man Committee nominated by National President.

Accepted forms will be sent back to the District Office, where a Mandal-wise list will be prepared.

5. The list of Active Membership shall contain the full name, father's/husband's name, age, occupation, address, Form and Serial Nos. of his/her first time membership of the party, serial number and date of Active Membership Form and such other details as are required from time to time.
6. One computerised copy each of the Mandal-wise list of Active Members prepared by the District Committee will be sent to the Mandal, State and Central Office.
7. An Active Member will be eligible to take part in party elections only from areas with which his Mandal is directly linked at the District and State level.
8. No active member will be prevented from contesting party elections on charges of disciplinary action against him after the announcement of election schedule by the National Executive.

Article XII (A): CATEGORISATION OF STATES

- (a) The states shall be divided into three categories:
 1. The States that have got 5 or less than 5 Lok Sabha seats.
 2. The States that have got 6 to 20 Lok Sabha seats.
 3. The States that have got 21 or more Lok Sabha seats.

- (b) The State/Union Territory, where the existing 4-tier Organisational System is not feasible, may adopt a suitable system with the prior consent of the National President.

Article XIII: LOCAL COMMITTEE

1. A Local Committee area must have at least 50 members. But where the population of the area is less than one thousand the number of members shall be at least 25.
2. The President and members of a Local Committee, will be elected by all the members of the area as prescribed by the rules.
3. The Local Committee have been divided into four categories:
 1. Local Committee having 25 to 49 members.
 2. Local Committee having 50 to 149 members.
 3. Local Committee having 150 to 299 members.
 4. Local Committee having 300 members and above.

For category (1) Local Committee, President and 8 members will be elected out of which at least one will be a woman. The President will nominate one Secretary from amongst the members.

For category (2) Local Committee, President and 12 members will be elected out of which at least one will be a woman. The President will nominate one General Secretary and one Secretary from among the members.

For category (3) Local Committee, President and 16 members will be elected out of which at least 2 will be women. The President will nominate one Vice-President, one General Secretary and one Secretary from among the members.

For category (4) Local Committee, President and 20 members will be elected out of which at least 2 will be women. The President will nominate two Vice-Presidents, one General Secretary and two Secretaries from among the members. Among office bearers at least one must be a woman.

4. The President must be a member of the party for not less than one year. The District President can waive

this one year period in deserving cases.

Article XIII (A): GRAM KENDRA/SHAHARI KENDRA

A Gram Kendra/Shahari Kendra will have viable number of Local Committee units under its jurisdiction, which will be decided by the State. The Mandal President will nominate from among Mandal Executive Committee members, a Convener of a Kendra. The Local Committee Presidents of the Kendra will be members of the Kendra Committee.

Article XIV: MANDAL COMMITTEE

1. (a) A Mandal Committee of Category 1: State shall consist of a President and not more than 20 members, at least 3 of whom shall be women and 2 belonging to SC/ST. The President of the Mandal shall nominate from amongst the members of the Committee, not more than two Vice-Presidents, one General Secretary, one Treasurer and not more than two Secretaries.
 - (b) A Mandal Committee of Category 2: State shall consist of a President and not more than 30 members, at least 4 of whom shall be women and 2 belonging to SC/ST. The President of the Mandal shall nominate from amongst the members of the Committee not more than three Vice-Presidents, one General Secretary, one Treasurer and not more than three Secretaries.
 - (c) A Mandal Committee of Category 3: State shall consist of a President and not more than 40 members, at least 5 of whom shall be women and 3 belonging to SC/ST. The President of the Mandal shall nominate from amongst the members of the Committee not more than four Vice-Presidents, one General Secretary, one Treasurer and not more than four Secretaries.
2. The President and members of the Committee shall be elected by all the elected members of at least as many Local Committees of the Mandal, the number of which shall be

determined by the State Executive.

3. The office bearers of a Mandal Committee of all the categories shall include at least one woman and one belonging to SC/ST among them.
4. Only active members can be the Mandal Committee members. The District President can waive this condition of three years period to become an active member in such cases where it is absolutely necessary.

Article XV: DISTRICT COMMITTEE

1. (a) District Committee of Category 1: State shall consist of a President and not more than 30 members, at least 3 of whom shall be women and 3 belonging to SC/ST. The President of the District Committee shall nominate from amongst the elected members of his Committee not more than three Vice-Presidents, one General Secretary, one Treasurer and not more than three Secretaries. Among office-bearers one will be a woman.
- (b) District Committee of Category 2: State shall consist of a President and not more than 44 members, at least 5 of whom shall be women and 4 belonging to SC/ST. The President of the District Committee shall nominate from amongst the elected members of his Committee not more than four Vice-Presidents, two General Secretaries, (out of whom one will be Organising Secretary) one Treasurer and not more than four Secretaries. Among office bearers one will be a woman and one SC/ST.
- (c) District Committee of Category 3: State shall consist of a President and not more than 60 members, at least 7 of whom shall be women and 4 belonging to SC/ST. The President of the District Committee shall nominate from amongst the elected members of his Committee not more than five Vice-Presidents, three General Secretaries (one of whom will be Organising Secretary), one Treasurer and not more than five Secretaries. Among office bearers one will be a woman and one SC/ST.

2. The President shall be elected by the members of all the elected Mandal Committees. Any ten members of the District electoral college should jointly propose any active member for the post of District President, but such proposal should come from at least 1/3 of the elected Mandals. The President will nominate other members of the committee giving due representation to the geographical, professional, social and organisational spread.
3. With the prior consent of the State President, the District President can appoint one General Secretary (Organisation) even from outside the elected members of his Committee. He will be a full member of the Committee.
4. President must be a primary member for a minimum period of six years and other committee members are to be primary members for not less than three years. They must also be active members. In exceptional cases and in the best interest of District Unit, the District President can waive this condition for five members at the maximum and with prior permission of the state president.

Article XVI: STATE COUNCIL

1. A State Council shall consist of:
 - (a) Members elected by the District Units as laid down in sub-clause 2.
 - (b) 10% of Party legislators to be elected by all the members of the legislative party, but not less than 10; if the total number of legislators is below 10, then all of them.
 - (c) 10% of Party Parliament members from the State, but not less than 3. If the number of Parliament members from the State is below 3, then all of them.
 - (d) All members of National Council from the State.
 - (e) All former State Presidents.
 - (f) All members of the State Executive.
 - (g) All office bearers of a Regional Committee.
 - (h) Leaders of the Party in State Assembly and State Council.
 - (i) Presidents and General Secretaries of the District Committees in the State.

- (j) Party Presidents/Chairmen of Corporations, Municipalities, Zila Parishads and Blocks.
 - (k) Nominated members (not more than 25) by the State President.
 - (l) State Presidents of Allied Morchas and Cells.
2. Members of the elected Mandal Committees in a district shall elect members for the State Council equal in number to the number of seats in the State Assembly allocated to the district, provided that these elected members shall include a minimum number of persons belonging to Scheduled Castes/Tribes, equal to the Assembly seats reserved for them from that district.
- Two Legislative Assembly Constituencies of each district shall be grouped together and divided into sectors and at least one representative must be elected from each sector. The demarcation of these sectors shall be made by the State Executive. If the members so elected do not include a woman member and if all the seats of the district are reserved then one additional woman member and one additional representative not belonging to Scheduled Castes/Tribes shall be elected for the State Council from that district.
3. Each member of the State Council shall pay a fee of Rs. 50.

Article XVII: STATE EXECUTIVE

- 1. (a) The State Executive of Category 1: State shall consist of a President and not more than 50 members, at least six (6) of whom shall be women and four (4) belonging to SC/ST.
 - (b) The State Executive of Category 2: State shall consist of a President and not more than 60 members, at least eight (8) of whom shall be women and five (5) belonging to SC/ST.
 - (c) The State Executive of Category 3: State shall consist of a President and not more than 70 members, at least ten (10) of whom shall be SC/ST and not less than 6 women.
2. The President shall be elected by members of the State

Council from Categories (a), (b) and (c) of Article XVII (1) as per rules prescribed by the National Executive.

3. The President would nominate from among the members of the Executive of Category 1: State not more than four Vice-Presidents, two General Secretaries (one of them to be General Secretary-Organisation), four Secretaries and one Treasurer. Among office bearers one will be woman and two SC/ST.
4. The President would nominate from among the members of the Executive of Category 2: State not more than five Vice-Presidents, three General Secretaries (one of them to be General Secretary-Organisation), five Secretaries and one Treasurer. Among office bearers will be woman and two SC/ST.
5. The President would nominate from among the members of the Executive of Category 3: State not more than six Vice-Presidents, four General Secretaries, (one of them to be General Secretary-Organisation,) six Secretaries and one Treasurer. Among office bearers one will be woman and two SC/ST.
6. Any ten members of state electoral college should jointly propose any person, who has been an active member for three terms and a primary member for 10 years, for the post of President. Such joint proposal should come from at least 1/3 of the elected district. The consent of the candidate is necessary.

Article XVIII: NATIONAL COUNCIL

1. The National Council shall consist of:
 - (a) Members elected by the State Council as laid down in sub-clause 2;
 - (b) 10% of the party members of Parliament, but all upto 10;
 - (c) All former National Presidents;
 - (d) All State Presidents;
 - (e) Leaders of the party in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha;
 - (f) Leaders of the party in State Assemblies and Councils;
 - (g) Nominated members (not more than 40) by the National President;

- (h) All members of the National Executive; and
 - (i) All India Presidents of Allied Morchas and Cells.
2. Members of the State Council comprised in Categories (a) (b) and (c) of Article XVI (1) shall elect members for the National Council equal to the number of Lok Sabha seats allocated to that State, provided that these members shall include a minimum number of persons belonging to Scheduled Castes/Tribes equal to the number of seats reserved for them from that State. Two Lok Sabha Constituencies of the State shall be grouped together and divided into sectors and at least one representative from each sector must be elected. The demarcation of these sectors shall be made by the National Executive.
 3. Every member of the National Council shall pay a fee of Rs. 100.

Article XIX: ELECTION OF THE NATIONAL PRESIDENT

1. The National President shall be elected by an electoral college consisting of:
 - (i) Members of the National Council as mentioned under Article XVIII, 1(a) and (b); and
 - (ii) Members of the State Councils as mentioned under Article XVI, 1(a), (b) and (c).
2. The election shall take place in accordance with the rules framed by the National Executive.
3. Any twenty members of the electoral college of a state can jointly propose any person, who has been an active member for four terms and has fifteen years of membership, for the post of National President. But such joint proposal should come from not less than five states, where elections have been completed for the National council. The consent of the candidate is necessary.

Article XX: NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

1. The National Executive shall consist of President and not more than 80 members, of whom at least 12 shall be women and 8 belonging to SC/ST, to be nominated by the President.

2. The President shall nominate from amongst the members of the National Executive not more than nine Vice-Presidents, not more than seven General Secretaries (one of these to be General Secretary-Organisation), one Treasurer and not more than nine Secretaries. Out of the office bearers there will be at least 6 W/SC/ST giving representation to at least one from each category.

Article XXI: TERM OF THE PRESIDENT

No member will hold the post of a President for more than one term of three years. The State and the National President will have at least 25% new members in his Committee. The number of special invitees in a National Committee shall not exceed 30% in State Executive, 25% in District Committee, 20% of its total strength besides ex-officio permanent invitees. At the National, State and District levels only a whole time worker shall be appointed as General Secretary-Organization. He will be eligible to contest any election only two years after his relinquishing office.

Article XXII: PLENARY SESSION

1. The following shall be entitled to attend the Plenary Session:
(a) All members of the National Council; (b) All members of the State Councils; (c) All members of the party in Parliament; (d) All members of the party in State Legislature; and (e) All other categories agreed upon by the National Executive for the Session.
2. A Plenary Session of the party shall ordinarily be held once in every term at such time and place as may be determined by the National Executive.
3. The National President shall preside at the said session.

Article XXIII: SPECIAL SESSION

1. A Special Session of the party will be held, if the National Executive so decides or if at least 1/3 members of the National Council jointly make a request to the National President to convene such a special session for discussing an agenda specified in the demand.

2. All members of the National Council shall be delegates for the Special Session.

Article XXIV: POWERS AND JURISDICTION

1. All decisions taken at a Plenary Session or a Special Session shall be binding on all units, organs, Allied Morchas, Cells and members of the party.
2. Subject to the decisions mentioned in sub-clause 1, the National Council shall be the highest policy-making body of the party.
3. Subject to sub-clause 1 and 2, the National Executive shall be the highest authority of the party. Every power, not specifically vested in any other organ shall be exercisable by the National Executive. It shall lay down rules for carrying out the functions of all units and organs. It shall frame rules for the maintenance of funds which will be audited and approved annually. It shall be the duty of the National Executive to allocate the powers of all other units and organs, to frame rules, to create machinery for holding elections and for settlement of disputes therefrom.
4. All other organs and units shall perform such functions and carry out such duties in their respective areas as may be determined by the National Executive.

Article XXV: PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The National Executive shall set up a Parliamentary Board consisting of the Party President and eight other members, one of whom will be the leader of the Party in Parliament, with the Party President as Chairman. One of the General Secretaries shall be nominated as Secretary of the Parliamentary Board by the President.

The Parliamentary Board has power to supervise and regulate the activities of the legislative and parliamentary parties of the party, to guide in the formation of ministry and also has the authority to take note of any breach of discipline by members of the legislative and parliamentary parties and also by office bearers of state-units and take such actions that are necessary. The Board will discuss and decide any policy pursuit or policy change which has not till then

been adopted by the party. The Board shall have power and authority to guide and regulate all the organisational units below the National Executive. This decisions shall be ratified at a special meeting of the National Executive within twenty-one days of the said decision.

Article XXVI: CENTRAL ELECTION COMMITTEE

1. The National Executive shall set up a Central Election Committee consisting of the Parliamentary Board and eight other members elected by the National Executive as per rules for the purpose of:
 - (a) Making final selection of candidates for the State Legislatures and Parliament; and (b) Conducting election campaigns.

Article XXVII: STATE ELECTION COMMITTEE

By framing necessary rules the State Executive shall elect a State Election Committee of not more than fifteen members:

- (a) To propose names of party candidates for legislature and parliamentary seats from the State to the Central Election Committee;
- (b) To make final selection of party candidates for the various Local Body Elections, Co-operative Institutions and the like; and
- (c) To conduct election campaigns in the State.

Article XXVIII: CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEES:

State: To co-ordinate and to bring about better understanding and co-operation between the organisational and legislative side of the party a Seven-member Co-ordination Committee with State President as Chairman and six other members, three of whom will be from State Executive and three others from legislature party including the leader of the said wing of the party. This Committee will be under the supervision, direction and guidance of Central Parliamentary Board.

District: The District President and four other senior members of the District Committee along with BJP leaders of Corporations, Municipalities, District Panchayat and co-operative will constitute the District Co-ordination Committee. The District President will be the Chairman of the Committee. This Committee will co-ordinate, regulate and guide the activities of these local bodies and will be

under the supervision, direction and guidance of State Co-ordination Committee.

Mandal: The Mandal President will constitute a Mandal Co-ordination Committee consisting of the leader of the Block level Panchayats and two representatives of Gram Panchayats comprised within the Mandal and three members of Mandal Committee of which one will be General Secretary. The Mandal President will be President of this Committee. This Committee will regulate and co-ordinate the activities of Panchayats under the Mandal and will be under the supervision, direction and guidance of District Co-ordination Committee.

Article XXIX: STATE FUNDS AND ACCOUNTS

A Five-member Finance Committee at state level for all the states from out of a panel of ten names submitted by State President will be constituted. Out of the five one will be the State Treasurer. This Five-member Committee will be constituted by the National Treasurer and will be responsible for the collection of funds, expenditure and maintenance of account in each state. This Committee will function under the direction of State President and will be guided by National Treasurer.

Article XXX: SCRUTINY OF REGISTER OF MEMBERS

The State Executive and the District Committee shall undertake periodical scrutiny of the six-year term Register of Members maintained by each Mandal and shall dispose of all complaints regarding irregularities and rectify the records. If large-scale irregularities are reported, the National Executive may take such action as it considers necessary. The State Returning Officers will not proceed with the elections unless the register is scrutinised and rectified as mentioned above.

Article XXXI: MORCHAS AND CELLS

1. Mahila, Youth, *Kisan*, Minorities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Morchas will be constituted at all levels, and Cells formed at the National, State and District level for other fields, according to the rules framed by the National

Executive.

Article XXXII: ELECTION DISPUTES

Subject to the rules framed by the National Executive, State Executives, District Committees and Mandal Committees shall make arrangements for dealing and disposing of all disputes arising out of elections to units and organs within their jurisdiction.

Article XXXIII: INTERPRETATION OF CONSTITUTION

The National Executive has the power and authority to interpret the Articles and Rules of the Party Constitution and also import thereof whenever an occasion arises for the same. The National Executive decision in respect of the above shall be final and binding on any member or unit.

Article XXXIV: AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution can be amended, altered and added to, only by the National Council of the party, provided that the National Executive shall have the powers to amend, alter and add to this Constitution also. The changes so made by the Executive shall be placed before the very next session of the National Council for ratification, but they may come in operation even before such ratification from a date as may be prescribed by the National Executive.

FORM-A

**BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY STATE
Primary Membership Application Form**

Date..... Term 2003-2008 Sr. No.

I.....wish to become a member of the Bharatiya Janata Party. I have completed 18 years of age. I promise to abide by the pledge printed at the back.

I, first, enrolled for the membership of the Party in the yearI am hereby depositing Rs. 5/- as Membership Fee.

I am hereby depositing Rs. 2/- as Membership Fee.

Name Date of Birth
 Father's/Husband's Name..... Sex Male/Female
 Work Place District.....
 Address 1 Parliament
 Address 2 Assembly
 City Mandal
 Pin Code..... Ward/Village
 Phone(.....)..... Polling Booth No.
 E-Mail..... Occupation
 Education Social Category

Signature and Address of the
 Enrolling person.

Thumb Impression/Signature of Applicant

PLEDGE

I believe in Integral Humanism, which is the basic philosophy of the Bharatiya Janata Party.

I am committed to Nationalism and National Integration, Democracy, Gandhian Socialism, Positive Secularism, (*Sarva Dharma Sama Bhava*) and Value-based politics.

I subscribe to the concept of a Secular State and Nation not based on religion.

I, firmly, believe that this task can be achieved by peaceful means alone.

I do not observe or recognise untouchability in any shape or form.

I am not a member of any other political party.

I undertake to abide by the Constitution, Rules and Discipline of the party.

RECEIPT

BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY STATE
Primary Membership Application
Term 2003-2008

Date Sr. No.

Received Application Form for Membership of BHARATIYA
JANATA PARTY along with Rs. 5/- from:

Name and Address

.....
.....
.....

Seal of the
State President

Signature of the enrolling
person Address

‘Integral Humanism’ is the philosophy of the Party.

The Bharatiya Janata Party is committed to Nationalism and
National Integration, Democracy, Gandhian Socialism, Positive
Secularism, (*Sarva Dharma Sama Bhava*) and Value-based politics.
The Party stands for decentralisation of economic and political
powers.

FORM-B
BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY STATE
Active Membership Application Form

Date Sr. No.

The State PresidentState.

1. I am

Father’s/Husband’s Name

R/O Pin Code.....

Telephone Fax No. Mobile No.

Pager No.: E-mail Id.....

Date of Birth: (DD/MM/YYYY)/...../.....

Sex: Male/Female

Education:Less than 10+210+2

..... Graduate.....Post-graduate

Social Category:Scheduled CasteScheduled tribe
.....Backward General

Political Address: Lok Sabha (Seat):

Assembly (Name):
.....

Constituency:Taluka/PanchayatNagar Palika

(Select One)District PanchayatBlock Development
.....Mahanagar Palika/Ward

Local Committee:

Booth No.:

Village Name:

Ward:

Location category:Mega CityCorporation City

(Select One)Nagar PalikaNagar Panchayat
.....Rural Panchayat
.....Semi Rural (population less than 5000)

Any Elacted Office held:YesNo

Any Post in Party held:YesNo

Any Govt. Post held:YesNo

2. I am a member of BJP since.....My Membership Form No. is.....
3. I am depositing Rs.....(personally or through collection).
4. No amount / account is due from me to the Party funds. My name may be included in the Active Member's list in Mandal for the term.
5. I owe allegiance to the sovereignty, unity and integrity of INDIA and I certify that I have never been convicted by a court of India for any criminal offence. I am aware that if it is found that I have furnished false information to acquire this active membership, BJP can cancel my active membership henceforth.

Date:

Full Address.....

Signature of the Applicant

Father's/Husband's Name.....
.....
.....

Information as given above by Shri/Smt/Kum
..... is correct. So his/her application may be accepted, or application may be favourably considered to be included in the Active Members list under Article XII (4).

Date

Received by

Signature of the Distt. President

Application accepted/Not accepted.

Distt.Mandal.....

Sr. No.

1.

2.

3.

Date

Rubber Stamp of the
Distt. President

Signature of Distt.
Sub-Committee

Note: Applicants whose forms have not been accepted will be communicated immediately.

BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY.....STATE RECEIPT

Received an amount of Rs. from
Shri/Smt/Kum along with
his/her Active Membership Application form.

Date

Signature of Distt. President.

PROFILE

Occupation:Private SectorPublic ServiceTeacher
.....TradeIndustry.....Information TechnologistAdvocate
.....DoctorAgriculture.....Chartered Accountant.....Others,
Please write.....

Morcha:MahilaYouthKisan.....Minority
Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes

Cell:Ex-ServicemanTraders.....Unskilled Workers
.....Skilled Workers.....Information TechnologyMedia
.....Cooperative

Skills:Public SpeakingDoor-Door Canvassing
Telephone CampaignPublishingOrganisingComputers
.....SportsPerforming Arts

Active Participation in other fields:

.....EducationCo-operative institutions.....Banking &
Economic Fields.....Literature, Arts and Preparing ArtsSports
Service-oriented Institutions (Ex: Women, Disabled)
.....Labour & Union activities

Details Of Highest Elected Office (If any held):

Title:.....



