

BHARATIYA JANA SANGH

on

- CENTRE—STATE RELATIONS
- U. P. TEACHERS' STRIKE
- CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES STRIKE
- TELANGANA DISTURBANCES
- FORMATION OF MALAPURAM DISTRICT
- GAJENDRAGADKAR COMMISSION REPORT
- DISTURBANCES IN BOMBAY
- MID—TERM POLLS



Resolutions Passed By

ALL INDIA WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING
HELD AT NEW DELHI ON DECEMBER 15 & 16, 1968
AND FEBRUARY 15 & 16, 1969.

(Resolutions passed at the Working Committee Meeting held
at New Delhi on December 15 & 16, 1969.)

CONDOLENCE

The Bharatiya Karyo Samiti expresses profound grief at the sudden death of its Mysore state Vice-President and the leader of the party in the State Assembly, Shri Sadashiv Shankarappa Shettar who was a practising of Hubli. He was always championed the cause of the labourers and the down-trodden. The last eight years of his life were of full dedication and service to spread the Jana Sangh work. Through devotion and perseverance he had come to be counted as an influential leader of the state. His death has caused great loss to the party. The working Committee joins his family in the mourning over his death and offers them deep condolence.

CENTRE - STATE RELATIONS

A hotly debated issue these days is the issue of Centre-State relations. While on the one hand there is talk of greater autonomy for States, it is being said on the other that the Centre needs to arm itself with enhanced powers to enforce its orders on the States.

It needs to be appreciated that this problem stems basically from the fact that India's is a federal Constitution. The Jana Sangh has never been happy that the Constitution describes India as a Union of States. It holds that India has always been, and is, one nation, and that the interests of national unity and progress would be best served if instead of the present federal set-up India were to adopt a unitary constitution.

In a federal structure, Centre-State tensions are in some measure inevitable. Prior to 1967, as the same one party held sway at the Centre as well as in the states, these tensions were resolved at the party level through extra-constitutional processes. The Fourth General Election has radically altered the situation. Divergent parties and elements have been returned to office in the States. It is particularly imperative therefore, that all those in office must scrupulously adhere to constitutional norms and proprieties.

In the present context, however, the Working Committee regrets to observe that the Central Government's handling of the questions which have arisen between the Centre and States during the post-Fourth Election period have been characterised largely by expediency and partisanship rather than a concern for the provisions of the Constitution, or even for the unity of the country. It is particularly regrettable that the main instrument chosen by the Centre to put into effect its partisan manoeuvres has been the State Governors. The Constitution contemplates for Governors an essentially non-partisan, non-controversial role. But, unfortunately, this tendency on the Central Government's part to use Governors as levers for the attainment of expedient gains has involved not only several individual Governors, but the institute of Governorship itself in controversy.

Starting with Rajasthan, where by crude constitutional gimmickry Congress' electoral minority was converted into a legislative majority, and ending up with the very recent Haryana rigmarole where the Central Government and the Congress High Command cast aside even pretensions of political decency to bolster up the collapsed Bansi Lal Ministry there have been a string of episodes in U. P., Bihar, West Bengal, Punjab, Haryana and Kerala in which the Central Government's conduct has been far from defensible. The one dominant note underlying Congress Government's

postures all along has been its incapacity to suffer non-Congress Governments and its irrepresicible itch to recapture lost power.

Even in its confrontations with Governments dominated by Communists whose interests in weakening the Centre's authority and the country's unity are easily understandable, the Central Government has betrayed a peculiar penchant for wrong issues and wrong timings so that in the end result, not only constitutional norms have been violated, but national unity also has been weakened. In West Bengal, for instance, the Central Government looked on impassively for months together when in Naxalbari and other parts of the States, law and order was systematically subverted with the connivance of the State Government, and decided to intervene on a very flimsy issue, and that only when Congress-supported minority government could not continue. Again, lately in Kerala, the Central Government first joined issue with the State Government over the question of implementing the anti-strike ordinance but failed to follow it up with necessary constitutional action with the result that the Kerala Chief Minister has been able virtually to defy the Constitution, and yet get away with it.

The Jana Sangh's own experience about the Central Government vis-a-vis the administration of the Union Territory of Delhi, where in the last General Elections the people gave a clear mandate to the Jana Sangh has been extremely unhappy. Even though the Jana Sangh representatives in the Administration have been conducting their relations with the Centre with scrupulous regard for constitutional and political niceties, they have repeatedly run up against discriminatory and partisan attitudes.

The Jana Sangh feels that in the context of the multi-party pattern of Indian politics that has emerged following

the 1967 poll, the entire gambit of Centre-State relations needs to be reviewed. As suggested earlier, the Jana Sangh on its part would like the present federal but highly centralised constitution to be replaced by a unitary but decentralised set up. But until such a radical overhaul of the constitution becomes feasible, the Working Committee recommends a reappraisal of the existing financial arrangements with a view to ensure that the States get more and more through assured devolutions rather than discretionary grants and that the quantum of finance received by States through such non-discretionary devolutions corresponds as nearly as may be to their obligations.

Also, considering the experience of the past twenty months it appears that time has come when the President should invoke his powers under Article 263 of the Constitution and set up a council charged with considering issues arising between the Centre and the States and making recommendations in that regard.

U. P. TEACHERS' STRIKE

The Central Working Committee expresses grave concern over the failure of the negotiations that had been going on between the secondary school teachers of U. P. and the State Government. Some ten thousand secondary school teachers are presently behind the bars and schools all over the State have been paralysed. The fact that annual examinations of students are close makes the situation particularly serious.

The Working Committee is of the definite view that during the last twenty years, primary and secondary education as also teachers working in these institutions have been treated with neglect. Their pay scales are inadequate, and their dearness allowance is not at all commensurate with the cost

of living. The accepted principle of equal remuneration for equal work has not been applied to them. The Government has failed even to arrange payment of their salaries from the Treasury.

The Central Working Committee demands that the Central Government should immediately intervene to tackle the situation arising out of the agitation launched by the primary and secondary school teachers of U. P. and try to resolve the deadlock created between the State Government and the secondary teachers. To create a congenial climate for a proper settlement, it urges that the following measures be taken: —

(a) all arrested teachers should be forthwith released and an assurance should be given that no action would be taken against those who had gone on strike;

(b) the S. V. D. Government's decision to accept the principle of uniform D. A., and the increase in D. A. resulting therefrom, should be implemented with effect from the date of decision; and uniformity in respect of D. A. must be maintained in the future as well;

(c) all necessary steps should be taken to implement the decision to pay teachers' salaries direct from the Treasury; and

(d) the Government should accept in principle the Kothari Commission's recommendations regarding pay scales of primary and secondary school teachers and a phased programme must be undertaken for their implementation.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' STRIKE

The Central Working Committee disapproves of the Essential Services Maintenance Bill now introduced in Parliament and demands that it be withdrawn.

The proposed bill not only seeks to impose a blanket ban on the employees' right to strike, it embraces within its mischief even those workers who are otherwise governed by the Industrial Disputes Act, and whom for processes defined in the Act are entitled to go on strike. This bill is obviously anti-labour, undemocratic and provocative. The right of collective bargaining which workers have won after constant and prolonged struggle cannot be annulled by a simple stroke of the pen. Instead of trying to ban strikes, the Government should create circumstances in which government employees and labour have no need whatsoever to take recourse to strikes.

It is a matter of regret that the joint consultation machinery set up in the wake of the indefinite strike of 1960 with a view to resolve disputes relating to Central employees proved totally ineffective in averting the token strike of September 19, 1968. While representatives of the employees were prepared to refer the question of need-based minimum wage for arbitration, the Government refused to do so and shut its doors against any settlement.

The Working Committee is of the considered view that statutory provision needs to be made for the resolution of disputes pertaining to employees which make it obligatory for Government to refer for arbitration all such issues that cannot be settled through negotiations. If such an arrangement is made, there will be no need whatsoever for employees to go on strike. The Committee would like to stress that the right to strike is an extraordinary weapon and should be taken recourse to only as a last resort. So long as other avenues are open for resolution of a dispute, there can be no question of a strike.

The Working Committee demands that the cases instituted against employees who had taken part in the September 19 strike should be withdrawn and that they should

be permitted to resume duty. Employees against whom there are charges of violence or sabotage should be subjected to departmental enquiry and necessary action thereupon. There is need to obliterate the memories of the September 19 happenings and to open a new chapter in Government-Employees relations. Wisdom demands that the Central Government should shed its vindictive attitude and deal with its employees with sympathy and consideration. The Central employees also must resolve to discharge their duty to the country and society with devotion and sincerity.

Resolutions passed at the Working Committee Meeting held at New Delhi on February 15 and 16, 1969.

CONDOLENCE

This meeting of the Jana Sangh Working Committee deeply mourns the death of Dr. Sampurnand, Shri C. N. Annadurai, Shri Manikya Lal Varma, Shri Brahma Swaroop Bhatnagar, and Shri Ram Lal.

In the death of Dr. Sampurnand, the country has lost an outstanding scholar, a senior statesman and an illustrious exponent of Bharatiya values and traditions. The void created by his death cannot be filled.

Shri Annadurai's death is a loss not only for the D.M.K. or for Tamilnad, it has impoverished the entire country. In recent decades few Indian public leaders have evoked so intense a feeling of mass admiration as did the late Chief Minister of Tamilnad. A scholar, a writer, an orator, Shri Annadurai was over all a nationalist who always exercised a healthy, sobering influence on extremist elements in his camp.

Shri Manikya Lal Varma was a pillar of the popular struggle for independence and reformative government in the princely states. He was for several years a member of Parliament. In him, Rajasthan has lost a senior leader and a constructive worker.

Shri Brahma Swaroop Bhatnagar, M.L.C., was a devoted worker of the Jana Sangh in Uttar Pradesh and a prominent lawyer of Moradbad. Lately, he was elected Vice-President of State Jana Sangh.

Shri Ram Lal, Jana Sangh's candidate for the Lambi (Res.) constituency, died in a tragic jeep accident in the course of the election campaign.

The Working Committee pays its respectful homage to the memory of these departed souls and offers condolences to their near and dear ones.

TELANGANA DISTURBANCES

The Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh expresses its deep concern over the widespread disturbances that have taken place in Andhra recently over the issue of a separate Telangana. While the Jana Sangh is strongly opposed to the creation of a separate Telangana, it urges the State Government to rectify the regional imbalances which lie at the root of the present unrest and which certain political sections are exploiting for their own ends.

The separate Telangana agitation has a background which goes back to the time of Andhra's formation in 1956. The leaders of the Andhra and Telangana Regions then recognised the backwardness of the Telangana region and came to a gentleman's agreement in respect of certain

safeguards regarding services, domicile etc. The Parliament later passed the Public Employment (Qualifications as to Residence) Act of 1957, legalising the aforesaid gentleman's agreement in so far as safeguards given to the employment personnel were concerned. These safeguards were given for a period of 10 years. As the Act expired in 1964, the Parliament passed an identical Act to be in force for 5 more years. These safeguards are to end in March, 1969. A Telangana Regional Committee was formed to see to the working of the safeguards.

Though the Congress has been in power throughout, the safeguards given either under the gentleman's agreement or under the Public Employment (Qualification as to Residence) Act were not implemented. Added to this, a section of Congressmen out of office has been exerting to work up regional feelings. Using student unions as their instrument this disgruntled group of Congressmen started an agitation. It is this Congress group that has been encouraging, assisting and financing the separate Telangana agitation. Soon the Students Federation, the student's wing of the Communists, plunged into the fray. Later, goondas and rowdies also were drawn into this movement. The Razakars also gave their blessings and support to this. The result was violence, arson and looting. The trouble provoked a reaction even in the Andhra region.

On 18th and 19th of January, 1969, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, convened a meeting of all political parties in the Legislature. All the leaders agreed that safeguards given should be extended for a further period of five years from 1969 i. e. upto 1974. Several other measures also were agreed upon to allay the grievances of the Telangana region. The objective of providing these safeguards is to enable Telangana to come up to the level of the rest of the State within the stipulated period. It is hoped that this latest agreement will help achieve this objective.

The Bharatiya Jans Sangh deploras the separate Telangana demand and urges the people of both regions to exert jointly for the welfare of the State. It however holds that the main responsibility for the recent disturbances rests with the Congress. In the first place, the present mood of discontent owes to the State Government's failure to enforce the safeguards promised to the people of Telangana region. Moreover, the agitation for a separate Telangana State also has been inspired by Congressmen. The State Government should now sincerely and immediately implement the agreement entered into on January 19, 1969.

FORMATION OF MALAPURAM DISTRICT

The Central Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jans Sangh, having considered the question of the proposed Malapuram district in Kerala in all its aspects feels fully convinced that this is a thoroughly communal demand which poses a grave threat to the nation's integrity and security. The Jans Sangh therefore, has resolved to intensify the agitation against it.

Even though the name Malapuram district has been coined only recently, the demand for a separate administrative unit called Moplahistan comprising of the same areas is as old as the demand for Pakistan. The Muslim League in Malabar had from its very inception put forward such a demand; they had not given it up, even after partition. In fact, there is recorded evidence to show that Mohummed Ali Jinnah, when approached by League leaders of Kerala, had advised them to strive for carving out a Moplahistan within the Indian Union, "which when the proper time comes, we can link with Pakistan." Accordingly, Muslim League's legislators in erstwhile Madras State had demanded a separate Moplahistan comprising of the Muslim majority areas of Malabar, including

the Laccadive islands, on the ground that they form a distinct cultural unit.

The formation of the present, U. F. Government, with Muslim League as a dominant partner led to a revival of the old Moplah demand, with a slightly changed nomenclature, which is intended only to deceive the gullible. The demand had been voiced at the Conference of the Kerala State Muslim League. The Muslim League M. P. representing Calicut has openly stated that the very idea of the formation of such a district has sent a wave of enthusiasm among Muslims all over India. The League Minister for Education, Sri Koya, has described the question of the district formation as one directly involving the interests of the Muslim Community and has threatened to reconsider their attitude towards the Coalition Government, in case the district was not formed. It is strange that not only the Marxists who have obviously been working in close collusion with the Muslim League, but the other parties in the U. F. Government also who tout for total and long about secularism are either actively supporting or passively endorsing this rank communal demand.

The argument that this new district is necessary for the development of the backward areas has no legs to stand upon. The Taluqs sought to be constituted into the new district, are by no means the most backward ones in Kerala. If this move was really prompted by concern for backward areas, formation of a Tellicherry district with the hill tracts of Wynad or a Kasargod district should have been given top priority. The plea that Calicut district is too unwieldy also has no meaning. The hollowness of this argument is revealed by the fact that the relatively small Palghat district also is sought to be cut up. The intention is quite evident. What the League desires is to tie up the Muslim majority Taluqs of Palghat and Calicut districts with a view to form a new district in which they will have absolute majority. It is this

mischievous design to carve out artificially a Muslim majority district that the Jana Sangh is determined to oppose. Jana Sangh would have had no objection if in the normal course a district had a majority of Muslims or any other community, just as for example, there is in the Murshidabad district of West Bengal.

The proposed district is not merely communal; it is also a first class security risk. The long coast line is highly vulnerable; the proximity of the Laccadive group of islands exclusively populated by Muslims, who have on many occasions exhibited their pro-Pakistan leanings makes it all the more so. The topography of the land, which Sri. Nambudripul has described as ideally suited for guerrilla warfare, is such as to pose a real security problem in the context of the Communist-League alliance operating in Kerala. Even otherwise, the very idea of carving out a district to create an artificial majority for one community is totally repugnant to the basic tenets of our Constitution and also runs counter to the interest of national integration. The Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh therefore, bids the effort of all parties, groups and individuals who have come out openly to oppose this dangerous move and urges all patriotic forces in the country to lend full support to these efforts and ensure that this anti-national move is frustrated.

The Working Committee calls upon all Jana Sangh branches to observe March 9 as Anti-Moplah Day and mobilise public opinion against the proposed formation of this district.

GAJENDRAGADKAR COMMISSION REPORT

The people of Jammu & Ladakh regions of Jammu and Kashmir State have been complaining of step-motherly treatment from the Kashmiri-dominated State Government ever

since the establishment of popular Government in that State in October, 1947.

A number of agitations have had to be launched by the people of Jammu during this period to spot-light the issue and secure redressal of their grievances. But little was done by the State Administration to meet the genuine grievances of the people of Jammu and Ladakh and remove the imbalances in the economic development as also in regard to recruitment in State services and provision of educational facilities to these three distinct geographical regions of the State.

The report of the Gajendragadkar Commission appointed by the State Government after long pressure and persuasion from the people of the State and Central Government has borne out the truth about discrimination against Jammu and Ladakh and has fully vindicated the stand taken by the Jana Sangh in this respect.

It is a matter of deep regret and concern that Sadiq Government has refused to accept the recommendations of Gajendragadkar Commission and is trying to shelve the report under one excuse or the other. This has naturally added to the prevailing resentment in Jammu and Ladakh. It is the considered view of the Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh that any procrastination or delay in the implementation of the recommendations of Gajendragadkar Commission particularly those pertaining to setting up of regional development boards, regional recruitment boards, separate Universities for Jammu and Kashmir including separate medical and engineering colleges and equalisation of the rates at which rationed goods are sold at Jammu and Srinagar would aggravate the situation in regard to existing regional tensions.

It therefore, urges upon the State Government as also the Central Government to see that the right thing is done at the right time. Justice delayed is justice denied.

It calls upon Jana Sangh (Unit) of Jammu & State to educate and mobilise public opinion about the recommendations of the Commission and take all necessary steps to secure their early implementation.

DISTURBANCES IN BOMBAY

The acts of violence, looting, arson and such lawlessness that took place in Bombay between February 7 and 10 have gravely impaired the unity of the country, and pose a challenge to our faith in democratic values. Since its inception, the Shiv Sena has been fomenting feelings of narrow regionalism and linguism. All through the month of January Shiv Sena leaders had been delivering provocative speeches and thus paving for this violent outbreak. But the Maharashtra Government remained mysteriously indifferent.

Because of this the Government was unable to anticipate the events and take preventive measures, or later, when the disturbances broke out, to deal with the situation with firmness warranted by the intensity and spread of the happenings. The disturbances have taken a heavy toll: crimes worth of public and private property has been destroyed, and 58 young men have lost their lives in police firings. The indifference of the police in the early stages give grounds for suspicion that perhaps the state Government expected an agitation of this kind to strengthen its hands in its border dispute with Mysore.

The Central Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the categorical view that it is irresponsible, and detrimental to national interests, to seek to resolve inter-provincial border disputes, or for that matter, any political dispute, on the streets. The Committee strongly urges all parties concerned to abjure this attitude and refrain from taking any step that weakens the country's unity.

The Working Committee feels that it is the Central Governments' failure to take a decision about the Maharashtra-Mysore border dispute for so long that has provided anti-social elements an opportunity of precipitating this orgy of destruction and arson. It is imperative that the Central Government and the leaders of the two State Governments concerned should find an early solution to the problem and see to it that there is no repetition of the unfortunate and deplorable incidents of Bombay.

MID-TERM POLLS

(As Passed by the Central Parliamentary Board on February 17, 1969).

In the General Elections of 1967, the people of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal had rejected the Congress. In the mid-term polls of 1969, the people have reaffirmed their verdict. In all these four states, after the exit of the Congress, coalition governments had come into office. However, all these governments excepting that of Punjab headed by Gurnam Singh, failed to come up to the expectations of the people. If, nevertheless, the people have refused to return the Congress to office, it is a categorical proof that the Congress policies and programmes have lost attraction for the people, and the party's organisation has become incapable of enthusing and mobilising the electorate's support.

Incidentally, these elections have also revealed the depths to which Congress can descend in order to capture power. With a view to defeat the Jana Sangh in Punjab, the Congress had no hesitation in posing as the protector of non-Sikh Hindus and whipping up narrow sectarian feelings

among them. In Uttar Pradesh it projected itself as the sole custodian of Muslim interests, and strove to reverse the healthy democratic trend of 1967 when Muslim voters voted not out of Communal considerations but as enlightened, politically-conscious electors, judging parties and candidates by merits. In Bihar, it felt no qualms even in advocating creation of a separate Jharkhand State. And in West Bengal, to checkmate the advance of Communists it tried to work up a fear psychosis among non-Bengali sections. These tactics may have earned the Congress temporary dividends, but they have exposed its opportunist, unprincipled character.

In Punjab and West Bengal, the electorate has not only rejected the Congress, it has expressed its positive preference also. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, on the other hand, the picture is not clear. The Congress has been denied an absolute majority but the people haven't indicated their preference for any other party or alliance either. It appears the emergence of a clear alternative to the Congress in these states is going to take some time.

So far as the Jana Sangh is concerned, its success in this mid-term election has been below expectations. In Punjab the Jana Sangh has hoped to bag around 15 seats but it has secured 8, that is, one less than it had secured in the last election. The losses in Amritsar, Jalandhar and Ludhiana have been particularly severe. It seems our units in Punjab could not educate the urban electorate adequately regarding the broader merits of the Jana Sangh-Akali rapport. The merits however are obvious and are conceded even by critics of the Jana Sangh. In terms of electoral gains and losses, the loss of one assembly seat has been more than compensated by the accretion of one Lok Sabha seat. Also, for the first time the Jana Sangh has succeeded in capturing some rural constituencies. On this count, this election marks a break-through. All told, the Board feels satisfied over the party's performance in Punjab.

In Bihar also, it is encouraging that while all other prominent non-Congress parties have either suffered reverses or just managed to retain their earlier position, the Jana Sangh has improved its strength from 26 to 34. The fact that in 50 constituencies, the Jana Sangh was second is a pointer that if the party's organisational base in Bihar had been stronger, and the party had been able to mobilise adequate resources, its success could have been even greater.

In Uttar Pradesh, however, the party has suffered a set-back. In 1967, the Jana Sangh secured 98 seats. Instead of advancing on this, the party has now receded to its 1962 position, and won just 48 seats. The set-back has been unexpected, and does not offer itself to easy explanations. Detractors of the Jana Sangh who have been loudly trumpeting this as index of loss of popular support ought to take note of the fact that the Jana Sangh's poll percentage, which is a truer index of popularity than legislative strength has declined only by 2 per cent. The number of seats held by the party on the other hand has gone down by 50 per cent. Nevertheless, the reasons for the decline in popular support, however slight, need to be objectively analysed, both at the central level as well as the state level. *Prima facie*, the main reasons for this set-back appear to be :—

1. A sense of over-confidence among Jana Sangh workers, particularly in constituencies where the party had won in the last elections; the complacency arising out of this over-confidence resulted in diminished efforts regarding voter-approach and voter-mobilisation.
2. A tendency to underestimate the strength of adversaries, particularly of the Bharatiya Kramti Dal; the fact was known that the BKD was frantically exerting to arouse casteist, sentiment but adequate steps were not taken to counteract these efforts.

3. Muslim electors generally cast their votes *en-bloc* the main objective being to thwart Jana Sangh success.
4. Paucity of resources; as compared to 1967, the party had to battle with very paltry resources : in particular, shortage of vehicles affected our campaign considerably.

The party's objective in setting up a large number of candidates in West Bengal was to carry the Jana Sangh's message to the remotest corners of the state. This has in a way been realised, and the ground has been prepared for the party's expansion in the future. The main reason for the Jana Sangh's defeat has been the Congress, vicious propaganda that a vote for the Jana Sangh would be a vote for Communists.

In respect of these various States, the Jana Sangh's Parliamentary Board resolves as follows:

- (1) In Punjab, in cooperation with the Akali Dal, the Jana Sangh will discharge the responsibility placed upon it to give to the people a clean, efficient administration devoted to the task of public welfare, and will further strengthen the bonds of unity between Sikhs and non-Sikhs.
- (2) In Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, the people have assigned to the Jana Sangh the role of an opposition. The Jana Sangh will fulfil this obligation and function in constructive opposition to the Government.