

JANA SANGH

THE
ONLY
ALTERNATIVE



ELECTION MANIFESTO 1972

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FOR THE FIRST TIME since independence, elections to a majority of the State Assemblies are going to be held separately from those for the Parliament. For the first time, the electorate has an opportunity of exercising its franchise on the basis, mainly, of State level issues closer to the people. Now, therefore, is the time for people to judge whether the party in power has lived up to its professions or betrayed the trust reposed in it.

The Ruling Congress wants the vote for itself in the name of victory and stability. Fact is that it can claim neither. What we have just won was a glorious national victory made possible by our gallant forces. Indeed, had the Congress (R) heeded Jana Sangh's demand to recognise Bangla Desh in early summer, we could have stopped the genocide and defeated the Pakistani army before it had reinforced itself. Even now, judged by official ambiguity about the liberated territories, recovery of reparations and trial of war-criminals, the fear is that Congress will let down the country after the elections are safely over.

Congress Claims

As for the Congress' claim of stability, it cannot be forgotten that except for a brief period of one and a half years after the Fourth General Elections the Congress has for all these twenty five years enjoyed an absolute majority in not only Parliament but in almost all States. But this has certainly not led to real stability.

Indeed, Congress' style of politics, particularly since after the split, has been a serious destabilising factor for Indian politics. The ruling party has made defections into a major industry. The Prime Minister has been toppling provincial

governments with an abandon more appropriate to puppet-play. The august office of Governors is being abused to serve the ends of party expediency. In the process, the Constitution has been dehydrated, provincial autonomy reduced to a farce and the country pushed in the direction of a one-party dictatorship. The only safeguards of our democratic freedoms are the judiciary and the press. But, in the name of 'commitment', efforts are already afoot to subvert the independence of both these great institutions.

It must be clearly understood that stability cannot be an end in itself. A stability which does not effect rapid economic development and social justice makes for a stinking stagnation. During the 20 years—1947-67—the Congress with all its huge majorities, gave the country little more than corruption, waste, unemployment and an unseemly exhibition of its own quarrels. Stability becomes meaningful only in the context of rapid progress; and that is possible only for a party with dynamism, discipline, dedication and a sense of direction, qualities which are quite alien to the Congress ethos. By contrast, the Jana Sangh, which has these qualities in abundant measure, has achieved remarkable results in Delhi. It is time the country voted out the Congressmen so that they can compose their quarrels in leisure, and at their own expense—and gave Jana Sangh the opportunity to serve the people.

The Congress record is, in all conscience, intolerable. On the eve of every General Election the ruling party has coined a nice new slogan. It was Welfare State in 1952, Socialistic Pattern in 1957, Cooperative Commonwealth in 1962, Socialism in 1967 and Garibi Hatao in 1971. But the lot of the people has only worsened with time.

Unemployment

When the First Five Year Plan was launched, we had 33 lakh unemployed. Today, 20 years later, the number of unemployed exceeds 1,20,00,000. In answer to questions in Parliament, Government itself has admitted that 75,000 scientists and 64,700 engineers and technologists were unemployed

at the beginning of 1971. Also, we have 1,597 unemployed doctors and 450 unemployed pilots.

Prices

During the last ten years retail prices have risen on an average by 11 per cent every year. During the last one year alone, wholesale prices rose by 68 points in the case of pulses, 38 points in sugar, 16 points in eggs and fish, 13.6 points in cereals and 11 points in milk. This is because while production is increasing by 4 to 5 per cent a year, money supply is increasing at more than twice that rate. In 1970-71 alone there was deficit financing of the order of Rs. 265 crores.

Losses

In the name of nationalisation, a sum of more than Rs. 500 crores has been lost on public sector projects. The Hindustan Steel Ltd. alone has lost Rs. 178 crores, a sum with which we could have built a new medium-size steel plant. Bhopal Heavy Electricals has piled up a loss of Rs. 57 crores. The Machinery and Allied Mining Corporation has wiped out its entire capital of Rs. 20 crores.

Notwithstanding the green revolution, we have continued to import Pt. 480 wheat right up to 1971-72. Shortage of cotton and oil seeds continues to grow and worsen. And over the years the consumption of edible oils, pulses, milk and cloth per head has actually declined.

Licences

With 1960-61 as the base year, the index number of per capita net National Product at constant prices in 1969-70 was 110.8. This amounts to little more than 1 per cent per annum growth, which would be about the lowest in the world. But all this while Government has been sitting tight on thousands of applications for industrial licences. In 1970, only 334 of the 1800 applications were sanctioned. In 1971, the figure was 495 out of 3,200.

While the Government talks bravely of doing without aid, the Mid-term Plan Reappraisal actually visualises an additional foreign aid of Rs. 464 crores. Already the foreign debt of India has crossed Rs. 7,800 crores mark. Yet another devaluation of the rupee, presently under consideration of the Government, will only push this figure still higher. Such is the mess that the ruling party has made of our economy.

Directive Principles Violated

Of late, the Government has discovered that the Fundamental Rights are not so very important, that they may be amended and eroded, and that the Directive Principles of State policy are more important. Fact, however, is that all the important Directive Principles have been grossly violated.

For example, one of the Directive Principles is that free and compulsory education will be provided for all children up to the age of 14 by 1960. But 12 years later, in 1972, only 35 per cent of children in the age group 11-14 go to school. Another Directive Principle was the protection and promotion of the cattle wealth of India. But lakhs of cows continue to be slaughtered year in and year out so much so that milk consumption per head has declined by 23 per cent over the last 13 years. A third major Directive Principle was the adoption of a uniform civil code for all citizens of India. But to this day there is no sign of any such code. The fourth important Directive Principle about prohibition of alcoholic drinks has also gone by the board.

BJS : Only Alternative

The record of Congress Governments, thus, is a story of big promises but poor performance, fancy schemes but inefficient implementation, high-sounding slogans but shallow deeds. The party has got away with it only because of its brute majorities. The Congress monolith has been prone to take the people for granted. During much of this period most of the State Assemblies did not have even a recognised opposition. It is because of this lack of checks and balances that the

Government has been riding roughshod over the will of the people and ignoring their true interests with impunity.

In the process of political polarisation that has set in, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh stands out as the one and the only All India alternative. It can not only play the role of a strong opposition, it can give a strong administration of its own.

PROGRAMME

Subject to the party's general manifesto, as outlined in the document *Principles and Policies*, the Jana Sangh specifically pledges itself to :

FOR KISANS

Enforce strictly land reform laws such as those relating to land ceiling;

Give priority to Agriculture in plan allocations;

Undertake widespread development of minor irrigation projects; maximise the number of tube-wells; and ensure cheap supply of power for electric pumping sets;

Reduce irrigation rates, connect every village with an approach road within 5 years;

Ensure steady supply of agricultural inputs, costly machines at low rents through service cooperatives, and proper maintenance facilities for tractors;

Reduce and rationalise land rents; guarantee security of tenure and a fair share to *baraidars*; introduce cattle and crop insurance and promote improved cattle breeds,

Implement Article 48 of the Directive Principles and impose a complete ban on cowslaughter; grant loans and subsidies for purchase of cows; develop the dairy industry

so as to bring about a white revolution, and double the country's milk production within 5 years ;

Adopt suitable measures to save farmers from exploitation by middlemen, particularly those dealing in perishable products like vegetables, fruit etc.; assure the peasants a remunerative price for their produce, better storage and cartage facilities.

Maintain price parity between agricultural produce and manufactured goods ; and

Arrange interest-free loans for a period of 5 years for uneconomic holdings, so as to make them economic, and provide adequate as well as cheap credit to all agriculturists, so as to carry the green revolution to the smallest farmer.

FOR AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

Redistribute within one year the surplus and the cultivable waste lands to the landless and holders of uneconomic holdings, particularly to those belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and ex-army personnel ; and

Ensure for them statutory minimum wages as well as a share in the additional produce.

FOR ARTISANS

Encourage the evolution of new techniques of production and the development of marketing cooperatives ; provide improved tools at subsidised rates.

FOR THE COUNTRYSIDE

Undertake massive programmes of rural public works and housing to generate large scale employment ;

Ensure supply of good drinking water to every village within 3 years ; and

Evolve indigenous technology suited to decentralisation of

production, vigorously develop agro-based and other small scale industries in rural areas.

FOR SCHEDULED TRIBES

Extend the facilities presently available to the Scheduled Tribes in specific areas to the entire country ;

Distribute among them all surplus and cultivable waste lands in and near the forests ; and rehabilitate those displaced in the past ;

De-governmentalise minor forest produce, restore and preserve the traditional rights of tribals in governmental as well as private forest areas ;

Give them priority in forest services and the protection of the Minimum Wages Act ;

Develop forest-based industries and labour cooperatives ;

Strictly enforce debt relief measures ; and

Take all appropriate steps for their progressive integration with the social mainstream.

FOR THE SCHEDULED CASTES

Make laws against untouchability more stringent and enforce them strictly ;

Provide facilities within two years to do away with the system of carrying night soil on the head ;

Ensure reservation in services for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes according to their population and set up Assembly-level Vigilance Committees to ensure its faithful implementation ;

Arrange for extra training classes, refresher courses and in-service training for their benefit ;

the resources earmarked for cottage and funds in proportion to their population, industries which provide employment to and Tribes, and periodically review the

Directive Principles of the Constitution in as to protect and promote their social, interests.

CAPPED AND THE DISABLED

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basic principles laid down in the United of Rights of the Child; and take all suance thereof.

WORKERS

able vocational and technical training and ities in a way so as to reduce competition man;

y for equal work;

Enforce all statutory provisions relating to women workers and make necessary adjustments in their working hours; and

Put up hostels for working girls and provide facilities for transport and children's care.

FOR UNPROTECTED TOILERS

Enact special State legislation for, and convene in every State, a Vocational Council to attend to the problem of un-protected labour, such as fishermen, saltpan workers, washer-men, coolies, barbers, casual piece-rate workers employed in markets, shops, docks, railway-yards, goods sheds, public transport vehicles, or in godowns for loading, weighing etc.; and

Enact special Industrial Dispute laws to protect workers in educational, religious and social organisations, in domestic employment, hospitals, cooperatives, construction works and small and seasonal industries, engaged in rickshaw-pulling, scooter or taxi-driving, weaving, legal firms, or in the employ- of former Princes etc.

FOR PENSIONERS AND EX-SERVICEMEN

Strictly enforce various provisions extending legal protec- tion and benefits to ex-servicemen;

Raise the quantum of all pensions and link them with the cost of living index;

Extend the protection of labour legislation to pensioners, ex-servicemen, and their associations; and

Organise Pension Committees in different services to expedite the disposal of their cases and grievances.

FOR THE URBAN SHELTERLESS

Gear up building activity, creating vast employment opportunities for all types of construction workers;

Impose a ceiling on urban property and thus diffuse house-ownership;

Give adequate financial aid to housing co-operative societies;

Exert for the establishment of a Central Housing Authority to give long-term low interest loans for the purpose; and

Undertake slum improvement, slum clearance, and construct houses/flats and allot them on hire-purchase basis.

FOR GENERAL WAGE EARNERS

Ban all retrenchment without alternate employment;

Ensure security of service and rational policies on recruitment, promotion, transfer and retirement;

Guarantee a needs-based minimum wage, protection of real wage, and a minimum bonus of 8.33%;

Launch integrated Social Security Schemes covering unemployment insurance, free medical care and retirement benefits and labour welfare (including education of workers' children);

Streamline the industrial relations machinery so as to ensure cheap and expeditious justice;

Ensure workers' participation in the management and ownership of industries; and

Set up appropriate machinery for the redressal of grievances of the police personnel and the members of the Industrial Security Force.

FOR CONSUMERS

Regulate the price-level through curtailment of deficit

financing, reduction in overdrafts by States, curbs on all wasteful governmental expenditures, establishment of a Price Stabilisation Board, prescription of severe penalties for profiteering and hoarding and provision of fair price shops; and

Provide subsidised food grains and open subsidised canteens in the cities for the poorer sections.

FOR ENTREPRENEURS

Do away with the need of licences for all small and medium industries which do not involve any foreign exchange, and take other steps to encourage mass enterprise for building up a decentralised economy free from all varieties of monopolistic domination.

FOR TAX-PAYERS

Simplify taxation laws and rationalise the tax structure to minimise tax evasion;

Abolish sales tax and replace it by excise duties collected by the Centre and allocated to the States by a Standing Finance Commission in a manner so as not to affect state revenues adversely;

Scrap all taxes whose yield is not commensurate with their cost of collection, such as professional tax, cycle tax etc.; and

Utilise the device of taxation to minimise income disparities, and progressively bring about a ratio of 1:20 between the minimum and maximum expendable incomes.

FOR THE TEACHERS AND THE TAUGHT

Overhaul, Indianise and modernise the educational system to make it conducive to the individual's all-round development, enabling him to fulfil his obligations as a responsible

and responsive member of the nation while earning his livelihood;

Arrange for free and compulsory education for every boy and girl up to the middle standard;

Provide free education up to the highest standard for poor but talented boys and girls.

Ensure the autonomy of universities and free them from governmental interference; a Board of Education will be set up in each district with which all the schools of the district will be affiliated; comprising of representatives of teachers, parents, managements and the government this Board will supervise educational institutions and coordinate their working;

Remove disparities between the pay-scales of government and private schools; teachers of non-government institutions will receive their salaries direct from the state government by a fixed date;

Will make special efforts to improve the pay scales and conditions of primary teachers; a Commission will be appointed to study their problems in depth;

Invigorate the literacy campaign and attain cent per cent literacy within one year in the urban areas and within three-years in rural areas; and

Ensure that Indian languages secure their rightful place in the field of education.

FOR THE ADMINISTRATION

Enact legislation to create a State-level body on the lines of the Lokpal and Lokayuta recommended by the Administrative Reforms Commission—an invaluable recommendation to combat corruption but which the Government of India has failed to implement;

Take effective measures to remedy the deteriorating Law and Order situation; special steps will be taken to reform the police administration so as to make them true and upright custodians of law;

Conduct administration in Indian languages;

Secure a readjustment of Centre-State relations particularly in financial matters; as the developmental expenditure of States has been increasing by leaps and bounds, the imbalance between the obligations and resources of States has been growing with the result that States have had to lean more and more on discretionary grants from the Centre; a reappraisal of existing financial arrangements should aim at ensuring that States get more and more through assured statutory devolutions rather than discretionary devolutions; and

Exert for the setting up of an Inter-State Council under Art. 263 of the Constitution to advise Government in respect of all issues pertaining to Centre-State relations.



The Jana Sangh is entering the election arena with hope and confidence. Amidst the political turmoil of last year, the Jana Sangh has proved to be the only opposition party which has not only retained its organisational strength and influence but in fact has succeeded in augmenting it. The Janata Party's decision to merge itself into the Jana Sangh is a pointer that amongst opposition parties the feeling is growing that for all elements who believe in nationalism, democracy and social justice and who feel that the Ruling Congress' policies are weakening these values, the Jana Sangh can provide a powerful rallying platform.

The Jana Sangh rejects both capitalism as well as communism. It is pledged to the building up of an egalitarian society in which there would be no discrimination against, or in favour of, any one on grounds of birth, heredity, caste or creed. There will be no place in this society for economic exploitation or

social disparity. But for the achievement of this aim, the Jana Sangh stands committed to democratic and peaceful methods. The Jana Sangh lays stress on the purity of both ends and means and would exert to re-establish moral values in public life.

The Jana Sangh appeals to the electorate to exercise their sacred right of franchise with discretion. It assures them that on its part it would earnestly carry out the above-indicated concrete and time-bound programme of government and exert both inside and outside the legislatures for its fulfilment. For the Jana Sangh, an election is essentially a means to secure an opportunity of service, and not a wherewithal to attain power. If the electors give us this opportunity—as they gave us in Delhi in 1967—we can assure them their expectations will be amply fulfilled.

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