
BHARATIYA JANA SANGH

on

- Exodus of Hindus
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RESOLUTIONS

BHARATIYA PRATINIDHI SABHA SESSION
CHANDIGARH JULY 18 & 19, 1970

Condolence

The Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha deeply mourns the passing away of the following personalities :

- (1) Shri P. Govind Meeson, Union Law Minister ;
- (2) Shri D. Biring, Union Deputy Minister, Food and Agriculture ;
- (3) Maharaja Man Singh of Jaipur ;
- (4) Shri P. Narayanaswamy, Vice-President, Kerala Jana Sangh ;
- (5) Shri Manmohan Joti, President, Ludhiana Jana Sangh ;
- (6) Shrimati Lila Roy, Revolutionary.

May God grant peace to the departed souls, and strength to their families to bear the loss.

Exodus Of Hindus From East Bengal

The partition of India in 1947 left sizeable Muslim minority in truncated India and Hindu minority in Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Ambedkar had suggested that logic of partition demanded exchange of this Hindu and Muslim population left back in India and Pakistan. But later it was decided by the Congress and Muslim League successors of the British in the two new Dominions, that they should guarantee protection and equal rights to Hindus and Muslims that had been left back instead of undertaking exchange of population.

That in fact was an essential part of partition agreement and both sides publicly accepted this responsibility to allay the genuine and understandable fears and anxiety of the Hindu and Muslim minorities in Pakistan and truncated India.

After the virtual transfer of Hindu and Muslim population between East Punjab and West Pakistan, about 30 million Muslims were left behind in India and about 15 million Hindus were left in East Pakistan.

It is a matter of pride for India that it has given full protection and equal treatment to its Muslim minority as is clearly proved by the rapid increase of the Muslim population in India. It rose to 50 million in 1961 and is estimated to have gone up to 60 million by now.

The rate of growth of population in Pakistan has been about the same as in India. If Pakistan had also honoured the commitment to give equal protection to its Hindu minority, its population should have risen to about 25 million in 1961. But actually the number of Hindus in Pakistan was reduced to 9 million according to Pakistan's census of 1961 and has been further reduced since then.

This has been mainly due to the planned policy of squeezing out or converting the Hindus through a reign of terror pursued by the rulers of Pakistan. Over 50 thousand Hindus were murdered in cold blood in 1950 and about five million were driven out in a few months. Exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan has continued ever since. But it assumed grave proportions once again in 1964 when over thirty thousand of them were murdered. At that time it was given out to be a reaction to the alleged theft of the hair of the Prophet from a shrine in Srinagar.

Since December 1969, the exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan has again assumed alarming proportions. More than two lakhs have come to India since then. There is no ostensible reason for this new operation squeeze. According to the information collected by an on the spot study, this exodus has

been started by creating a sense of terror in the mind of Hindus by looting their property and dishonouring their womenfolk with the connivance of Pakistan Government. It now appears that Pakistan is determined to convert, exterminate or squeeze out the few million Hindus and Buddhists who are still left in Pakistan.

The destruction and squeeze out of over 10 million Hindus from Pakistan during the last twenty years had no parallel in history. It is the worst kind of genocide that has taken place in any part of the world in recorded history.

The founder President of Bharatiya Jana Sangh, late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, was very anxious and concerned about the fate of Hindus in Pakistan. He had resigned from Pt. Nehru's cabinet in 1950 as a protest again weak and unrealistic policy of Pt. Nehru towards Pakistan in regard to the question of treatment of Hindus there. Bharatiya Jana Sangh therefore, has been seized of this problem as a national problem from its very inception. It holds that the people and Government have a responsibility regarding the fate of Hindus left in Pakistan as also those who have been forced out. Their only crime is that they are Hindus.

It is a matter of regret that Government of India has so far failed to do its duty in regard to the Hindus in East Pakistan and those who have come out.

It is the considered view of the Jana Sangh that Government of India must take short term and long term steps to provide relief and rehabilitation to those who have been thrown out and to provide security of life, honour, and property to those who are still in Pakistan. To that end Jana Sangh demands that :

1. In view of the fact that all diplomatic attempts in the form of different pacts like Nehru-Liaqat Pact and protest notes have failed to have any effect on the Government of Pakistan, which has been throwing all of them in waste paper basket with impunity, there is no hope of securing any justice from Pakistan for

- Hindus left there. It therefore reiterates the demand first made by late Sardar Patel for some territory of East Pakistan to settle the Hindu refugees from there. Compensation for the property left by Hindu refugees in Pakistan and their rehabilitation should be also demanded from Pakistan.
- Public opinion in India and the world must be educated and mobilised against this genocide and squeeze out of Hindus from Pakistan. Instead of doing its duty in the matter the Government of India has been put on the defence by Pakistan which has been charging India of genocide of Muslims, which goes against hard facts. The Government must gear up its external propaganda machinery and raise the issue of Hindus in Pakistan at the United Nations and other international forums with determination.
 - The Government must make it clear that it will not talk to Pakistan for piece-meal settlement of issues which suit Pakistan till the issue of Hindus in Pakistan is settled. It is a basic and national problem which must take precedence over all Indo-Pak issues in any negotiations or settlement with Pakistan.
 - It should be treated as a national problem and steps be taken on war footing to provide relief and rehabilitation to the Hindus coming from Pakistan. Refugee camps at Bashirhat, Hasanabaul, Bengaon are in pitiable condition. They should be improved.

Political Situation

At its Patna Session, the Jana Sangh had alerted the country to the grave implications of the alliance struck by the Indira Congress with Communists and the communalists, and had appealed to all nationalist and democratic parties to put their heads together and hammer out a concerted plan of action to stop the damage that was being done to the country's

interest in general, and to the cause of national integrity and democracy in particular, because of the continuance in power of this unholy triple alliance.

As we had pointed out at the time, by themselves Indian Communists are a declining and discredited force, but their alignment with the Central Government has made them a real menace. The Muslim League also, after remaining moribund for years, has suddenly become active and started extending its base rapidly. Nationalist and democratic parties, we felt, should take note of these trends, and, as among themselves, supplement their politics of competition with the politics of cooperation to contain his threat.

Developments during the seven months since the Patna Session have confirmed our worst fear regarding the evils likely to flow from this undeclared but very much alive Congi-Communist-League axis. The existence of this axis has paralysed New Delhi against the violence and anarchy let loose in several parts of the country by Naxalites and has incapacitated the Government from performing even its primary function, namely, that of maintaining law and order. It has made the Central Government extremely vulnerable to foreign penetration. The Government of India's subservience to Moscow's dictates has become almost complete. On the other hand, Indira Congress' alliance with the Muslim League has totally prevented its approach to the question of communalism. In a way, the Government of India's callous indifference to the distress of Hindus evicted from East Bengal, and its utter inability to deal firmly with Pakistan in this regard can be traced to this political line-up.

It appears only a matter of time for this covert alliance to become overt, and for Communists and Leaguers to be openly invited by the Indira Congress to share power with them at the Centre. The way is being gradually cleared for such a denouement. Congi Ex-President Shri C. Subramaniam has strongly pleaded for such an open alliance. Union Minister Khadilkar has publicly certified that the Muslim League is not communal. Shri Matai Gandhi's scrupulous silence about

Naxalite terrorism; about Marxists Bandhs and about C.P.I.'s "land grab" is even more eloquent.

It would, indeed, be a dark day for the country if this foreboding materialises, and Moscow, Peking or Pindi agents are able to secure a foothold in the Central Government. Nationalist India must spare no effort to avert this calamity.

It is gratifying that at its recent Conference in New Delhi the Organisation Congress has expressed similar views on the Congi-Communist alignment, and has formally taken the initiative in this matter by writing to various parties, including the Jana Sangh, urging them to work for the consolidation of nationalist and democratic forces both inside Parliament and outside.

The Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha welcomes this appeal, and feels that a beginning in this regard may be made inside Parliament. A powerful legislative front committed to nationalism, democracy and to the establishment of an economic order free from exploitation can be forged. The minimum common programme drawn up by this national democratic front should be broad-based enough to subserve the requirements of a viable alternative.

The Pratinidhi Sabha hereby authorises its President Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee to carry on a dialogue with concerned parties and take necessary steps in the above direction.

However, Jana Sangh units all over the country should not permit any let-up in their own programmes of extending and intensifying the organisational base because of this front-building activity at the national level. In fact, the gravity of the present crisis imposes a special responsibility on the Jana Sangh to go all out to broaden this mass base. It should not be forgotten that because of its large and dedicated cadres, no party is organisationally better equipped than the Jana Sangh to thwart anti-national designs. It is for that reason that during these last few months Jana Sangh has been the primary target of attack from all the partners in this unholy alliance.

This concerted attack, incidentally, has served to strengthen confidence in the masses also that it is the Jana Sangh alone which can successfully foil the danger posed by these anti-democratic and anti-national forces. The sharp pro-Jana Sangh swing in public opinion noticeable lately needs to be converted into stable political support. The situation, therefore, does not admit of any relaxation on the organisational front.

Economic Situation And The Fourth Plan

Bharatiya Jana Sangh stands for the establishment of an egalitarian society based upon the ancient Bharatiya idea of *सर्वसु सुखे सर्वसु सुखे (सर्व)*, i.e., "with a hundred hands, produce; with a thousand hands, distribute". It considers concentration of economic power as thoroughly incompatible with the concept of economic democracy. Consequently, it is opposed to both types of capitalism—the private or the State. It stands for decentralisation of economic authority.

In keeping with this national objective of maximum production with equitable distribution the Jana Sangh demands in the rural sector, a strict time bound implementation of land ceiling laws, and distribution of surplus and cultivable waste land among the landless agriculturists, particularly those belonging to the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, other backward classes and ex-servicemen, and safeguarding their proprietary rights on that land; with the proviso that they would not have the right to sell it away; security of tenure and a fair share to the 'balaidars'; appropriate minimum wages and co-sharership in agricultural produce to agricultural workers; adequate and cheap credit facilities to small peasants; lower irrigation and electricity charges and earmarking of a certain percentage of power produced in every State for the cottage and the small scale industries; cheaper fertilizers, extension of minor and medium irrigation schemes; crop and cattle insurance; as also special help for promoting cattle farming, prohibition of cow slaughter and concrete steps for its improvement; establishment of agrobased and other subsidiary industries; and guarantee of remunerative prices for all major crops.

In the urban sector, the Jana Sangh urges for measures to reduce concentration of urban property and to diffuse house-ownership; nationalisation of foreign banks and import-export trade with Communist countries, Indianisation of all foreign owned industries, scrutiny of all foreign collaboration agreements; proper balance between autonomy and answerability of public undertakings; consolidation of nationalised sector; full utilisation of all industrial capacity presently lying idle; progressive labourisation of industries and guarantee of the need-based minimum wage and the real wage to all wage-earners; formulation of credit policies in the interest of the educated unemployed engineers, technicians, and the new and small entrepreneurs; simplification of taxation laws, effective steps to put an end to smuggling, a crash programme for mass housing by various authorities and financial institutions; and the evolution of an indigenous technology suited to the decentralisation of productive processes.

The Jana Sangh reiterates its demand for the imposition of consumption tax and the fixation of 1:20 as the ratio between the minimum and maximum expendable incomes.

The Jana Sangh is further of the view that a 'National Commission On the Patterns of Industrial Ownership' should be immediately set up to determine the scientific criteria for various forms of ownership, i.e. nationalisation; cooprutivisation; municipalisation; joint industry; and de-governmentalisation of industries, services and departments to be entrusted to and managed by autonomous public agencies.

The Jana Sangh views with grave concern the various devices, under the pretext of nationalisation or otherwise, that are being used by the ruling party to establish its economic authoritarianism. The constitution of a committee for Industrial Licensing under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister is yet another step in this direction. It is calculated to concentrate vast economic powers in the hands of a single individual. That this position will be fully exploited for political gain is quite obvious. The Jana Sangh demands that the said Committee be abolished forthwith, and

an autonomous board, under direct control of Parliament, be constituted immediately for the purpose as also for issuing import licences. In fact, administration of all permits and licences should be entrusted to such an autonomous Board.

The craze of the ruling party for indiscriminate nationalisation is rooted in its political ambition for totalitarianism. The experiment of bank nationalisation should serve as a lesson and a warning. It is common knowledge that no appropriate follow-up measures have been taken after bank nationalisation; their credit policies have not been clearly defined nor have they extended any appreciable benefits to the common man; and there has been a fall in the rate of growth of deposits. The nationalised banking has virtually degenerated into bureaucratisation with all its attending evils.

The Jana Sangh regrets to know that its apprehensions about price rise arising from the faulty provisions of the budget have proved to be correct. On top of 7 per cent increase in wholesale prices during the last year as admitted in the pre-budget Economic Survey, the new Finance Minister has conceded a rise of 15 to 20 per cent in prices. In this context the provision of Rs. 850 crores by way of deficit financing, after the big dose of additional taxation in the current year's budget, is bound to generate further inflationary pressures. The apprehensions become particular strong when we recall that in the Third Plan as well as the three annual plans following it, the actual amount of deficit financing was far more than double of what had been originally provided for. Symbolic as it were of the planners' acceptance of defeat on the price front is the conspicuous absence of the chapter of price policy in the Fourth Plan document.

The Fourth Five Year Plan is thoroughly disappointing. It indicates that the Planning Commission has neither learnt nor unlearned anything from the experience of the previous Five Year Plans. There is nothing to ensure the estimated increase of 3 percent per annum in per capita income during this period. The estimated increase of 9 percent in industrial production during this period is, apart from being unsatisfactory,

impossible of attainment due to the present policies of the Government of India. The overall growth rate during the Plan period is assumed at about 5.5 percent per annum, but no adequate measures have been prescribed to assure that this would be actually achieved. The Jana Sangh is of the view that, with the maximum utilisation of resources and manpower it can and should be possible to achieve the growth rate of 10 percent per annum.

While the resolve of 'dispensing with foreign aid' is repeated, the Fourth Plan makes a bigger provision of foreign aid although its present prospects can hardly be considered bright. The presumption seems to be that there will be or can be a sudden transformation from increasing use to no use of foreign aid. It is regrettable that no efforts have been made or ever considered to assess the cost of this aid, as also the distortion of our economy resulting from the loss of motivation, foreign control over our decision-making in internal matters, restriction of India's trade options, and the dependence it has created even for our maintenance imports. It is convinced that all the foreign technical know-how as well as equipment that we need can be purchased on much more favourable terms, through open global tenders which should be preferred to the so-called aid.

The most unfortunate fact about the fourth five year plan is that it fails miserably to deal with the main challenge to the nation in economic sphere. The 'Directive Principles of State Policy' in our Constitution lay down, among other things, that "the State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing—(a) that the citizens, men and women, equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood"; (Article 39); and that "the State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want." (Article 41). The Jana Sangh has been consistently warning the Government against the disastrous consequences of the unrealistic approach of the Government and the Planning Commission to the

problem of unemployment and underemployment. Those who dismissed this Jana Sangh plea as mere exaggeration, distortion or gross misrepresentation of facts would be shocked to go through the main conclusions and recommendations of the Committee of Experts set up by the Planning Commission in August 1958 to enquire into the estimates of unemployment. The Planning Commission has used the Committee's recommendations only as an excuse to shirk its responsibility of presenting estimates of the lacking of unemployment at the beginning of the Plan, of the estimated increase in the labour force during the Plan period and of additional employment likely to be created through implementation of the Plan as formulated. Obviously, in the absence of all these relevant statistics, the Fourth Plan has become completely planless—particularly regarding the objective of full employment.

Right from its inception the Jana Sangh has laid great stress upon the supreme importance and urgency of this problem. It has also suggested, from time to time, the ways and means of meeting this economic challenge. The Jana Sangh notes with satisfaction that the guidelines in the Report on the World Employment Programme of the International Labour Organisation are broadly in conformity with the policies enunciated by Jana Sangh in this respect. The ILO Committee has pleaded for the integration of employment creation to economic development through the maximum possible productive use of available labour to accelerate economic growth and more particularly, to substitute labour for scarce capital where this is economically feasible. It recommends a strategy of development involving comprehensive programmes of rural development, labour intensive public works programmes and fuller utilisation of industrial capacity, promotion of labour intensive industrial products for domestic and foreign markets and application of economically sound labour intensive techniques in industrial production. While it is an indisputable fact that the three previous Plans have failed to adopt this line of action, the Fourth Plan also persists in the same error. The Jana Sangh has already exposed the hollowness of various excuses given by the Government for its failure on this front.

We have elaborated, for example, how there is no inherent incompatibility between defence and development, the private and the public sector, capital formation and decentralisation of economic authority, or expansion of employment opportunities and workers' wage goals. The real cause for this tragic failure has been the absence of a realistic approach based upon proper understanding of the peculiar characteristics of our national economy.

It is the considered opinion of the Jana Sangh that while the magnitude of this problem is admittedly unique, it is possible, through determined, concerted and sustained efforts along the lines suggested by the Jana Sangh, to eradicate completely the evils of unemployment and under-employment. The Jana Sangh, therefore, demands revision of the Fourth Plan with this end in view.