

KUTCH AGREEMENT

We warmly congratulate all those who directly or indirectly contributed towards making the Jana Sangh anti-Kutch pact demonstration of August 16, 1965 as massive, disciplined and impressive as it was.

This great demonstration has once again proved that the people of India are unflinching in their resolve to defend the freedom and integrity of the country. The demonstration has also manifested their faith in democracy. It has further made it evident that national democratic forces can successfully combat those elements who only seek to exploit the widespread popular unrest arising out of the Government's failure to solve problems to undermine unity and democracy.

The immediate effect of the demonstration has been the cancellation of the Indo-Pak Foreign Ministers Conference scheduled to take place on August 20. If the people continue to remain as alert and active, the Kutch agreement may be reduced to a mere piece of paper.

It is a matter of extreme regret that Congress members of Parliament and some other members also have failed to honour the public will. By endorsing the pact, they have forfeited the confidence of the people. The situation demands that they resign and seek the people's confidence afresh. If they do not voluntarily resign, we propose to approach the Rasthapati and urge dissolution of Parliament and fresh elections. A vital issue of national sovereignty is involved and the people must be given an opportunity to express their opinion.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh assures the people that it would always remain in the vanguard of every national struggle and that it would not hesitate to stake its all for the defence of India's freedom and honour.

The exemplary sense of duty and diligence and the amazing capacity to undergo rigours and inconveniences for a cause shown by Jana Sangh workers on the occasion is a credit of which the party is proud. This strength of ours must grow. The conditions demand that our advance be still more rapid. Let us go out to the country-side and make public opinion so strong and effective that nobody dare ignore it again.

The Pratidihji Sabha directs the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to further the anti-Kutch Pact Movement.

KASHMIR

The fact that Pakistan has been able to launch a new invasion of Kashmir through thousands of well armed and trained infiltrators belonging to her regular armed forces eighteen years after her first similar invasion of that state in 1947, is at once a confirmation of the persistent hostility of Pakistan towards India and failure of the policy that Government of India has been pursuing in regard to J & K State all these years. The policy of maintaining a special status of Jammu & Kashmir state by allowing it to have a separate Constitution and softness towards known pro-Pak elements in the name of liberalisation now stands thoroughly exposed. All the sacrifices made by our armed forces who have been defending that state in most difficult conditions and crates of rupees spent during the same period for the defence and development of the state, have been rendered useless by the unrealistic policies in which the Government has persisted instead of repeated warnings by the Jana Sangh from time to time. As a result, anti-national elements have been systematically gaining in strength in that strategic state to the advantage of Pakistan.

The latest reports coming from the state reveal that Pakistan infiltrators are operating in selected areas to the west of the Cherab from where Hindus and other pro-India elements are being ejected with a set purpose.

The Civil administration of the state which is infested with pro-Pak elements has not only facilitated the infiltration of Pak guerrillas but is also a positive hinderance in the way of effectiveness of the steps being taken against them. In the circumstances it has become imperative for the Government of India to review and re-cast its policy in regard to Pakistan and Kashmir. It is the considered opinion of the General Council that the situation demands immediate action on the following lines:

1. Pakistan must be told in clear and unequivocal terms that India will not submit to such tactics of pressure and blackmail to re-open the Kashmir question. Pakistan has virtually repudiated the Kutch agreement which was supposed to ease Indo-Pak tension by launching this unprovoked attack on Kashmir. There is no purpose, therefore, of having any talks with Pak Foreign Minister about Kutch agreement. The Government of India, therefore, must call off the talks proposed to be held at New Delhi on 20th August. War and peace cannot go together. Pakistan has deliberately chosen the path of war, India has now no other alternative but to meet the Pakistani challenge and speak to her in the language she understands.

2. Jammu & Kashmir state and particularly its border areas should be ruthlessly cleared of all doubtful elements. No false notion of secularism should be allowed to stand in the way of national security.

3. Separate Constitution of the state which has been at the root of the psychology of separatism on which pro-Pak elements thrive, must be immediately scrapped and the Constitution of India be made applicable to the state in full.

4. Steps should be taken to settle ex-soldiers and refugees from Pakistan in the border areas. That is the only effective way to check Pakistani infiltration from Pakistan in Kashmir as also in Bengal, Assam, Tripura and Rajasthan. Such settlers must be given training in arms so that they should be able to act as first line of defence.

5. By using the Jammu & Kashmir territory under its

occupation for planning and launching the unprovoked attack on Jammu and Kashmir state, Pakistan has deliberately violated the cease fire agreement. There is no sense, therefore, in India continuing to stand by that agreement which has become a big hinderance in the way of our security force from doing their duty in defending the country. The Government of India must, therefore, treat that agreement as dead and take all steps to clear the territory of Jammu & Kashmir of Pakistani aggressors up to the international frontier.

6. Many well known left communists are operating in Jammu and Kashmir state in cooperation with pro-Pakistan elements like the Plebiscite Front. Unless drastic steps are taken to suppress these fifth columnists within, who are the main prop of the Pakistan infiltrators, the security forces will not be able to deal with the Pak invaders and infiltrators effectively. The very fact that top leaders of Pro-Pak Action Committee have been left free to carry on their nefarious activities without let or hinderance to the utter failure and ineffectiveness of the local administration to deal with the situation. The security of India is a central responsibility and therefore, it is the duty of the Central Government to tone up the local administration and tighten the internal security set-up there. Military should be given a free hand to deal with the situation in effected areas without interference from civil authorities. The working of intelligence services in the state should also be improved.

PLANNING

At Vijaywada, Bharatiya Jana Sangh had decided to launch the "Change the Plan" campaign. This programme was to educate the people with regard to the faulty character of the present plans and to put forward constructive suggestions. The Jana Sangh is glad to note that the necessary climate has been created where the thinkers and even the country feel that the basic defects of the plan be remedied and that the Fourth Plan should be formulated altogether on a different basis. The Prime Minister and the Union Finance Minister too have expressed their views in this regard. It is regrettable that the

Planning Commission is still obsessed with its own ideas and is not prepared to alter the size, form and the strategy of the Plan. Evidently a vested interest in the Plans has developed and the Planning Commission is incapable of any reappraisal on a realistic basis. Jana Sangh reiterates its earlier demand that an independent Commission be appointed to assess the achievements and short-falls of the Plans and to enquire into the causes.

At the recent meeting of the Planning Commission the size of the Fourth Plan has been fixed at Rs. 21,500 crores. The estimates of resources given by the Finance Minister fall far short of this figure. In spite of the fact that these are over-estimated there remains a wide gap which is sought to be filled by additional taxation. Thus it is proposed that additional taxes to yield Rs. 2,700 crores over the Fourth Plan period be imposed. The nation is already over taxed. The taxation policy has discouraged enterprise and added to the price spiral. This time new taxes are mainly to be levied on the agricultural sector. It goes against the proposal to give priority to agriculture. Agriculture cannot be developed without the necessary investment. The slogans of cooperative farming, inadequate and faulty implementation of the land reforms which have many loopholes, imposition of levy and the price policy have already discouraged investment in agriculture. Additional taxation will virtually cripple agriculture. Estimates of foreign aid are also unrealistic. By formulating a plan bigger and unrelated to resources, all effort is directed towards raising resources. To achieve these revenue targets at times, measures that adversely affect the programmes and priorities of the Plan, are adopted.

It is necessary that the whole concept of the Planning be revised. Jana Sangh makes the following suggestions:

1. Planning is a continuous process. It should not be divided into artificial and arbitrary periods. There should be perspective planning. Basic objectives and targets be fixed for considerable long period. The ideas of a 'Pause' or 'Plan holiday' are also not correct. There should be consolidation in fields

that require it, but the whole economy and development process cannot be halted.

2. Plans should not be conceived mainly in financial terms. With rising prices and falling value of the currency, financial targets have no relevance with physical achievements. The whole programme be formulated in physical terms.

3. There should be an integrated plan of defence and development. In fact, the plan should not only increase the defence potential of the country, but it should be such that can be implemented even in war times.

4. There should be no doctrinaire approach in planning. It should be pragmatic. The private and the public sector should not be considered competitive but complementary. They should be considered limbs of a national sector and allowed to contribute according to their capacity to its growth and development.

5. The basis of plans should be a positive concept of Swadeshi. The evil consequences of making the plans too much dependent on foreign capital and imports are now obvious.

6. The basic objectives of the plan should be:

- (a) Full employment;
- (b) Guarantee of a minimum standard of living to the people.
- (c) Balanced development of all regions and classes.
- (d) Fulfilment of the defence needs of the nation.

7. Subject to the above basic consideration the Government should pay particular attention to the following for some years to come:

- (a) Priority should be given to the production of food, arrangement for drinking water and other basic consumer goods;
- (b) No expansion be permitted in industries which have an unutilised capacity;

- (c) The public sector should pay attention to consolidation programmes of expansion in steel, mineral oils, power, and defence industries.
- (d) There should be drastic economy in administrative expenditure. Deficit financing should be stopped.
- (e) Small and quick yielding Schemes be adopted.
- (f) The idea of nationalisation and monopoly in the production and consumer goods industries be abandoned.
- (g) Special plans be prepared for the backward and poorer regions.
- (h) Separate Plan should be drawn for border areas.
- (i) Housing should be given high priority.

FOOD SITUATION

Food problem has been getting bad to worse during the last one and a half year. There were some signs of improvement in it just before the harvesting of new crop. But the policy of levy and procurement and the different kinds of controls on the distribution of food grains imposed by the State Governments resulted in steep rise of food prices once again so much so that near famine conditions have been created in some parts of the country. The Government do not seem to have a definite and coordinated national food policy. The decisions taken in the Chief Ministers Conference are unrealistic and haphazard and impracticable. The State Governments have failed to discharge their responsibility. They do not have the necessary machinery. The policy has put obstacles in the national flow of trade and has scared both the traders and the cultivators. It has, therefore, become imperative that a practical and practicable food policy be evolved after giving fresh thought on the whole question. Bhartiya Jana Sangh has following suggestions to make in this connection.

1. Food zones should be abolished and all restrictions on the movement of food in the country be removed.
2. The total responsibility for the distribution of food

should be borne by the Centre. The State Governments should concern themselves mainly with production of food grains.

3. The system of levy should be ended. Neither the state nor any cooperative organisation or corporation should be given the monopoly in respect of purchase and sale of food grains. The Food Corporation should enter the market as a trader in competition with other traders and not as a monopolist.

4. The Food Corporation may fix the minimum support price but it should not prevent the primary producer to sell his produce in the open market on the current prices.

5. The Food Corporation should adopt recognised trade methods to check rise in food prices. It would be wrong to apply physical controls. The Government can regulate prices by fiscal and monetary measures.

6. Rationing may be introduced in big cities. But provision should be made for some free shops as well. Arrangements must be made for cheap grain shops in the deficit areas as also for the fixed income sections of the country. Dearness allowances should be linked with price index or else arrangements should be made to supply food and other necessities of life to such people at cheap rates.

7. Sales-Tax or any type of other taxes imposed on food grains in any part of the country be immediately abolished.

AKHAND BHARAT

(Passed by the Working Committee on August 15, 1965)

I

Since ancient time, Bharat has been one and indivisible. The people living in this land have cherished filial attachment to it and have evolved a common culture and a common way of life which gives them a sense of oneness. From time to

time this national unity has manifested itself on the political plane in the shape of empires established by the "CHAKRA-VARTI" Kings. When such unified political authority was missing, foreign invaders were able to do harm to this country. But even then, our cultural, social and national unity remained unimpaired. It is therefore that ultimately our struggle for Swaraj could succeed.

In pursuance of their "Divide and rule" policy the alien rulers sought to promote fissiparous tendencies by representing the diversities of our national life as differences. The result of this strategy was that the exit of the British was accompanied by the vivisection of India and the creation of Pakistan.

Partition claimed a toll heavier even than the freedom struggle. The dastardly acts of violence, loot, arson and forced conversions which were witnessed then showed up man at his ugliest. But at the same time this phase of Indian history also saw numerous examples of sacrifice and heroism in defence of Dharma and our life-values. The history of Jauhars and martyrdom was repeated. On this August 15th we bow in reverence to those who thus immolated themselves. Let us pledge our all for the protection of not only the political aspect of Indian independence, but of these cultural values too, for which these noble souls laid down their lives.

II

With the creation of Pakistan not only was a separate state carved out of India, but a political base was provided to maintain and promote the perverse two-culture theory. To keep alive this feeling of separation and to bolster up an artificial unity between East and West Pakistan, Pak leaders have been pursuing rabidly anti-India and anti-Hindu Policy. Because of its slogan of Islamic rule, and because of its historical back-ground, the mere existence of Pakistan prevents a bulk of Indian Muslims from identifying themselves with the mainstream of national life. Prior to independence, Congress tried its utmost to placate the Muslim League but in vain. After independence also India has been appeasing Pakistan and has

been trying to win its friendship by sacrificing its own interests. Pakistan's bellicosity has been growing day by day. To cause damage to India no holds are barred for it. It struck a military alliance with America and now it has been going all out for an axis with Communist China. While on the one hand it has been preparing to launch on India an invasion from without it has been using its fifth column inside India to foment Muslim communalism internally and to plan large scale riots and subversion. Unless effective steps are taken to checkmate these designs, the peace and the security of our country will be in jeopardy and any day we may find ourselves thrown into a major conflagration.

So long as partition lasts Indo-Pak peace will continue to be an elusive entity. By trucking to Pakistan's grandaism we only embolden it. Its political ambitions go on expanding. A majority of the Muslims in India experience an emotional tie-up with Pakistan. In fact, both derive strength from each other. In these circumstances a two-fold programme is necessary:

(1) Our Pak Policy should be firm. By surrendering to Pak bullying and appeasing it we only embolden it to pursue its mischievous design. The day Pakistan realises that its dreams of re-establishing a Mughal *sultanate* in India are not going to be realized and that India was determined to follow a fit-for-fit policy against it, it will be compelled to do some introspection. The rulers and people of Pakistan would then be able to appreciate the folly of partition.

(2) There should be no political bargaining with Indian Muslims. They must be guaranteed all constitutional rights due to them in this secular State. But all separatist tendencies and attitudes betraying a pro-Pak bias must be curbed and the outlook of Indian Muslims must be nationalised.

Indian Muslims can become nationalistically oriented only after both Pakistan as well as the separatist and communal Muslim organisations in India are given a political dressing-down. Indian tradition and nationalism are not hostile to

Islam. Similarly modern Islam need not be an impediment in the building up of national integration. The real trouble is political. If this trouble is removed, the Indian Muslim will feel one with the mainstream of Indian life and India and Pakistan can be united to form an Akhand Bharat. And without this emotional integration, concepts of confederation etc would be superficial and impractical.

CONDOLENCE

Working Committee paid homage to late Shri Batukeshwar Datta, the well known Revolutionary

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee on September, 27 and 28, 1965

HOMAGE

In the battle with Pakistan India's Armed Forces have displayed great valour and military skill. Inflicting severe losses on the enemy, they have won a victory. We salute the army on its success. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh pays its tributes to the JAWANS who have in the course of this successful campaign laid down their lives performing their duty and thus attained hallowed martyrdom. They have defended the honour of the country with their lives. Their memory would always be for the people a source of inspiration for heroism and victory.

PAK VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL CODE OF WAR

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh strongly condemns Pakistan's reckless bombing of civilian areas, including hospitals and jails, in violation of accepted canons of war, and international conventions. The shooting down of the civilian plane carrying Gujrat Chief Minister, Shri Bulwantrao Mehta, and the brutal bombing of Amritsar even after acceptance of the cease-fire are pertinent instances in this regard. The Government of India

should take steps to inform world opinion adequately about these dastardly acts of its.

The Jana Sangh pays its homage to the deceased and offers its condolences to their relations. Their sacrifice has made its own contribution to the successful culmination of the war.

PAK AGGRESSION

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh feels proud of the magnificent response given by the nation—the government, the defence forces and the people—to the challenge posed by Pakistan's aggression. Never before in those eighteen years of independence have the government policies and actions been so completely in accord with the people's will as they have been during these past few weeks. Little wonder that the entire country has risen like one man to back the government's steps to frustrate Pakistan's designs.

In the circumstances there is no scope whatsoever for any complacency or the slightest let up. There are difficult days ahead and the country must be prepared for a long conflict.

It is a matter of deep regret and disappointment that Security Council has failed to brand Pakistan, which launched unprovoked attack on Jammu and Kashmir second time on 5th August as aggressor. It has thus evaded the basic issue involved in the present conflict. There can be no question of India withdrawing her forces from any part of the cease-fire line in J. & K. State whole of which belongs to India legally and constitutionally. The old cease-fire line which India accepted on the behest of U.N. in 1948 has ceased to exist after Pakistan tried to upset the 1948 arrangement by force. The Haji Peer Pass, Kargil heights and other strategic points which Indian forces have now occupied are part of Indian territory. There can be therefore, no question of our forces withdrawing from there. Furthermore the heights near Kargil are vital for the safety of the life line that links Ladakh with the rest of India. In view of Pakistan-China collusion and aggressive

posture of China in Ladakh the safety of the life-line is vital not only for the safety of India but also for the defence of the entire region against expansionism of the Communist China. India therefore, can not afford to take any risk or chance about them.

The developments that took place before and during the launching of Pak aggression and discovery of arms with Chinese marking and consultation of Chinese and Pak leaders on political and military level at every step have conclusively proved Pakistani collusion with Communist China with the set purpose of subverting Indian democracy and creating chaos and dis-integration in the country. It is time, therefore, that India makes reappraisal of the policies it has been pursuing in regard to Pakistan and China during the last eighteen years. It is now clear that appeasement policy which prompted us to acquiesce in forcible occupation of Tibet by China and our failure to stand by Pakhtoons in their demand for Pakhtoonistan was wrong and impolitic. India therefore must come out openly for the liberation of Tibet and establishment of Pakhtoonistan. It is a matter of deep gratification that in spite of long preparation of Pakistan, her superior armament and the concurrent pressure from China, Indian armed forces kept the enemy at bay and inflicted crushing blows on her gift armour. Our armed forces have thereby earned immortal glory and gratitude of the entire nation. But it would be wrong to think that Pak army has been crippled. Pakistan's belligerent mood has not yet subsided and the planned violations of the cease-fire coupled with the threatening and bellicose tone of Pak leader's utterances point to her designs to keep up the armed pressure to re-open Kashmir issue on political level.

It would be equally wrong to re-open the Kashmir question either under Pak pressure or American or Russian persuasion. Kashmir is an integral part of our country in which Pakistan has no locus standi whatsoever. Jama Singh therefore expects that the Government would stand by its oft-repeated commitment not to re-open the Kashmir issue under any outside pressure.

It is a matter of satisfaction that there is growing realisation that our policies need to be reoriented in the light of recent experience. Prime Minister Shri Shastri accepted this in his recent broadcast to the nation. Such reappraisal must cover all aspects of national policies particularly those concerning planning, defence and foreign affairs. In regard to planning, immediate steps should be taken to re-cast the Fourth Five-Year Plan so as to give top priority to defence needs and food production. The need for self-reliance and self-sufficiency in respect of arms and food has become too pressing to be ignored, or postponed.

From the defence point of view a standing army of two million, military training for all youth and development of our own nuclear deterrent have become imperative.

In the sphere of foreign affairs, the emergence of the totalitarian axis of Peking, Pindi and Jakarta, aimed against India, the only bulwark of democracy in Asia, is a grim reality. All these three countries entertain no compunction in regard to the use of armed forces to settle international problems and share a common antipathy towards the United Nations. This axis is therefore a growing threat to world peace.

The role of the U.S.A. and U.K. in regard to Pakistani aggression is sorely disappointing. Pakistan's misuse of American arms has justified India's strong opposition to the U.S.-Pak military pact and its misgivings that Pakistan would use those arms against none else but India.

The blatantly partisan attitude of Britain has caused deep resentment in the country. In the circumstances, it is time that India re-casts its foreign policy on the basis of enlightened self-interests and reciprocity. This demands reconsideration of our relationship with the Commonwealth, and development of closer relations with countries like Israel and Japan.

There is also need for having a fresh look on our foreign publicity and the working of our foreign offices and foreign missions. India needs not only correct and realistic policies, but also efficient and effective instruments for their implementation and interpretation.

FOOD

India was faced with an uneasy food situation when hostilities with Pakistan began. Due to drought, crops have failed in some areas. Difficulties have also cropped up in regard to imports of food grains particularly from U.S.A. During the period of hostilities prices of food grains had fallen due to bearish conditions. But since the cease-fire the upward trend has begun. The war has not yet ended. Trends are ominous. We have to prepare ourselves for a long drawn out war. For the successful execution of war as also for the stability of the economy vigilance on the food front is imperative. To this end all sections of the society, the producer, the consumer, the distributor and the government have to discharge their responsibilities. While on the one hand all out efforts have to be made to maximise production, on the other we have to observe strict austerity so as to free ourselves from dependence on foreign food. Arrangements for a proper distribution of the available quantities should also be made. In the present emergency Bharatiya Jana Sangh suggests the following measures in this regard:

1. The farmers should be induced to shift to food crops and to maximise production. A national programme of 'DHANYA PRADAN' be launched under which the farmers contribution to the war effort be measured in terms of their marketable surplus in foodgrains. Fallow lands should be brought under the plough.

2. Rationing should be introduced in cities with a population of more than one lakh and in scarcity areas. Restrictions in the movement and prices of food grains in the rest of the country be removed. The quantum of ration per unit should not be less than 12 lbs. While introducing rationing care should be taken that it does not breed black-marketing, smuggling, corruption etc.

3. Consumption in food grains be reduced to the minimum. Every citizen should observe one day, fast in a week as 'Vijay Vrata'.