Organization is one of the most important and integral part of political parties and without proper organization coupled with discipline the whole system of political parties would collapse. The Jana Sangh was a more disciplined and cohesive political party as compared to the Congress and the Swatantra Party for the simple reason that ideology and control emanated from a hierarchical organization like the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh. Thus the organization of the party was effectively managed in actual practice.

According to the constitution of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, a Mandal was the basic unit but in real practice Sthaniya Samiti was the lowest unit in the party hierarchy. It was organized for every polling station. This basic unit was the real working centre of the Party as its member actively participated in the party work.
Members of each Sthaniya Samiti elected their working committee² consisting of a President, a Secretary, a treasurer and four members in case of a committee with a membership of less than 100. Where the membership was 100 or more the number of the working committee was to be II and apart from the above office bearers, a vice President and a joint Secretary were also to be elected. These office bearers were elected through votes and election took place by the show of hands and all the primary members in the area of that polling booth participated in the election. In many cases elections were not held and office bearers were unanimously chosen. Qualifications to become a candidate for any office of the Party were determinated by the All India Working Committee from time to time.³ Members were elected for a period of one year but they could be removed from office if they failed to contribute a minimum amount of 50 paise into the membership fund every term. The post of a member elected or appointed to any unit was considered vacant on his becoming inactive. That post was filled only on directions from the higher Committee.⁴ If the membership of the Sthaniya Samiti was less than 25, its office bearers were not entitled to vote in the elections to the Mandal Samiti.⁵ Its meetings were held once in every fortnight and a quorum of 1/4 was fixed.

This basic unit was the real working centre of the Party. In general the Sthaniya Samitis of the Jana Sangh were far more vital than the local units of the other political parties where they existed only on paper. The principle of 'Democracy' operated in the Jana Sangh Organization as this grass-root
organisation—the Sthaniya Samiti—given due consideration in the organizational setup of the Party. The Sangh well realized the fact that to make a strong edifice of the Party the local units should be adequately represented.

Generally these Committees became active only at the time of organizational elections or general elections. These committees played a magnificent role in organizing the party and propagating its ideology and programmes. They enrolled new members and acted upon the orders issued by higher authorities from time to time. Specially during the election days these committees took various steps to popularize the party policy and ideas among the masses. These Committees kept account of the finances of the primary membership and collected the membership fund from old members. These were responsible for the entire functioning before the Mandal Samitis.

**Mandal Committee**

The second tier of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh organization was the mandal Committee which was organized for each legislative assembly seat. Every Mandal Committee had at least five Sthaniya Samitis under its jurisdiction. All elected members of local committees within the jurisdiction of Mandal Committee elected a President, not more than two Vice Presidents, a Secretary, two joint Secretaries and a treasurer. The executive of the Mandal Committee comprised of not more than 21 members of which 14 were nominated by the President of the Mandal along with seven office
bearers. In every Mandal Committee reservation of two seats for women and two seats for Scheduled castes of Scheduled tribes were provided. Every Mandal Working Committee held weekly meetings. Decisions were taken by the majority of votes and the quorum of 1/4 of its membership was considered essential.

The Mandal Committees were given the powers to supervise the work of the Sthaniya Samitis, founded new Samitis and reorganized the old Samitis with the approval of the Pradesh Working Committee. These were charged with the special responsibility of setting the necessary unit for elections. These were authorised to look into local problems and to express their opinion regarding national affairs. Mandal Committee elected Zila Committees and representative of Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha (which was the highest organ of the state) were also elected by this body. They prepared lists of voters for all elections. In case a member wanted to propose an amendment to the list, he had to notify it to the Mandal President along with relevant grounds. The Mandal President then took appropriate action and after necessary amendment sent the list to the Pradesh and district officers. The Mandal Committee maintained the membership register and a copy of this was sent to the district office.

It kept an account of its finance. It was the responsibility of the treasure of every committee to maintain regular accounts and get them audited every year. It was however free
to open an account in any bank. The funds for a Sthaniya Samiti were disbursed by the Mandal Committee.

It also discussed other matters which were considered essential for organizational purposes from time to time. The office of the President and the Secretary were of great significance. The President had got the special power of nominating 14 members to his executive. He was also empowered to call, address and put the agenda before its executive. He took decisions and put other necessary steps to organize the party. In addition to him, the Secretary was the other key figure as an organizational leader of this basic unit.

The Mandal Committee, in fact, had quite a substantial say in making ultimate decisions. The Party recognised that those who were nearest to the people had the opportunity of knowing them best; hence their opinions were given due consideration.

District Committee

The next higher in the organizational system was the district committee. It was formed for each Parliamentary constituency or a district. Elected members of at least three Mandal Committees within a district elected the office-bearers of the district committees consisting of a President not more than two vice-Presidents, a Secretary, not more than two joint Secretaries and a treasurer. The maximum strength of a district committee was fixed at 31. Members apart from the office bearers
of district committee were nominated by the elected President of a Zilla Samiti. In each district committee two places were filled by women members and two by members belonging to the Scheduled caste/Scheduled tribes. Its tenure of office was one year. The Quorum of 1/4 was strictly observed. It met after every three months.

Actually Zilla Samitis were not as important as the other units were simply because they had no hand in the formation of the State executive. They had the power to expand, conduct and co-ordinate the work of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh units in their areas. They were entrusted with the responsibility to check the working of the Sthaniya Samitis and Mandal Samitis. Their finance was under their control and they kept an account of it.

Pradeśik Pratinidhi Sabha consisted of 9 representatives of Legislative Assembly constituencies— one member from each constituency. Reserved constituencies were represented by members belonging to Scheduled castes/Scheduled tribes and women representatives were taken from each district and these members were elected by the elected members of the Mandal committee within every district; (b) Members of the All-India General Council from the Pradesh; (c) not more than twenty members co-opted at the first session; (d) not more than five members were nominated by the All-India Working Committee; (e) members of Pradesh Working Committee; (f) members of Legislatures; (g) chairmen of District councils; and (h) Chairmen of Municipalities with a population of more than 20,000. Representatives of Legislative
Assembly constituencies and women representatives one from each district elected a President, not more than three vice-Presidents, a Secretary and not more than three joint Secretaries and a treasurer. Generally the President was unanimously elected. If not, then a system of voting was adopted by which the Pradesh Secretary was the returning officer and representatives of Legislative Assemblies and women representatives, one from each district, had the right to nominate the Candidate for the office of President. On returning the nomination papers within the specified period, the Secretary had to write to the nominated individuals and obtain their consent as candidates for the post of President. The names of those individuals who wanted to withdraw or whose consent was not received were struck off the list and the remaining names were sent to the members of Legislative Assemblies and to the women representatives. After election votes were counted by the Secretary in the presence of persons nominated by the candidates. The Candidate securing maximum number of votes was declared elected. In case of tie, the verdict was given by draw of lots.

Mostly there were few contests and elections to the various offices were unanimous. All this was due to the intervention and links of the R.S.S. with the Jana Sangh and the spirit among the members to raise the image of the party without caring for posts. Moreover, holding an office in the Jana Sangh did not carry much political allurement but was rather considered to be shouldering a hard duty. All the Punjab Pradesh
Presidents: Balraj Bhalla (1951-52), Acharya Ram Dev (1953-58), Captain KeshaP Chander (1958-1964), M Baldev Prakash, Lal Chand Sabherwal and Hit AfcKtashi were elected unanimously. Elections to all the committees were invariably held every year.

Its meetings were held once a year and there was a notice of 21 days for such a meeting. For a special meeting one week's notice was given. The quorum of the meetings was 1/10 of its membership. Its term of office was one year.

Every member of the Pradesh General Council had to pay an annual membership fee of Rs.5-00 only. The Pradesh General Council had to carry out the Programmes and policies laid down by the All-India General Council. It had to prepare and submit a consolidated report every year and put the same before the All India Working Committee. It was responsible for the activities of the units in the Pradesh subject to the control and supervision of the All India Working Committee. It had to maintain a minute book.13

The Pradesh Karya Samiti14 It was a body of great importance because it was an independent organisation from the central bodies and had a free hand to formulate policy at the state level. It comprised of a President, not more than three vice-Presidents, a Secretary, not more than three Joint Secretaries and a treasurer. These were elected by the Pradesh General Council for a period of one year. Apart from the above office bearers, the President of the Pradesh Working Committee
nominated other members of the working committee. The strength of the working committee was not more than 41 of which at least two were women members and two members belonging to the Scheduled castes/Scheduled tribes. 15

It met after every four months but special meetings were also called by the President to discuss the problems of urgent nature. The quorum of a meeting was $\frac{1}{4}$ of its membership. Its one or more sessions were held.

It implemented the policy and programme laid down by the All India General Council. It was responsible for the proper functioning of all committees as well as the Party within the Pradesh. It had the power to take disciplinary action against any Committee or member within the Pradesh and had the authority to remove any member or any office bearer of a committee. However, an appeal against such action lay to the All India Working Committee whose decision was final. It was empowered to set up ad-hoc committees and nominate conveners in those Mandals or districts where elected committees had not been formed. The term of such ad-hoc committees was three months but it had the power to extend it to a total period of six months. 16

It had the power to appoint a Pradesh Parliamentary Board of not more than seven members to contest the elections. In case any office fell vacant by reason of resignation, death or any other ground, within its region, the Working Committee, had the power to fill that for the rest of time. 17 It was the
chief responsibility of the Pradesh Working Committee to get the membership forms printed. It kept a record of its proceedings and maintained the minute book. The responsibility for auditing of accounts of the committee was laid on it. Pradesh Working Committee contributed to the central fund an amount decided by the All India Working Committee. It issued directions and laid down procedure for the expenditure of the various committees in its region. Thus studying the above list of powers and functions performed by the Pradesh Working Committee, it became clear that it was an all-powerful body in the State, free from any inside or outside interventions. Its members were also members of the All-India General Council. The election of the office-bearers of the state, however, was not subject to any ratification by the central executive. The central executive had power to issue directions and control the working of state executive, although it had no power to supersede the state executive.

The Secretary of the Pradesh Working Committee took part in the meetings of the central working committee. Thus the Pradeshik Karya Samiti had a scope for initiating a policy within the wishes of the central executive, provided it did not affect basic principles of the Party. But practically Bharatiya Karya Samiti used to control and issue directions to the Pradesh Karya Samitis and it had the power to take such disciplinary action as it deemed fit against any individual Samiti or Sabha other than the Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha.
Pradesh Parliamentary Board:

Like the All India Working Committee, the Pradesh Working Committee appointed a Parliamentary Board of not more than seven members to contest various elections. It decided the candidates for elections and prepared the election material. It had to function in accordance with the directions from the central parliamentary Board. It was set up to guide, control and direct the M.L.A.'s and M.P.'s.

There was a Zonal Secretary to look after the working of the party in two or three states. Nothing is written about the Zonal Secretary in the constitution of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. Generally, the centre appointed some minister for this office. The role of the Zonal Secretary was to organise and implement the decisions of the Working Committee of the All India Party, or a State Party's directive or decisions in a particular region or particular zone, allotted to him.

All India General Council: It was the highest organ of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. It was constituted mainly by the Presidents and Secretaries of District and Divisional Committees, Members of the All-India Working Committee; members of Pradesh Working Committee; members working on various fronts; representatives of affiliated organizations; members of parliament and not more than twenty members co-opted at the first session of the All India General Council. All these members had to pay Rs.10
annually as membership fee. The President of Bharatiya Jana Sangh was the President of the All-India General Council. Its session was held once a year and it was held either where the All-India Working Committee felt it necessary or when a minimum of 50 members of the All India General Council made a requisition to the President specifying reasons. A notice of 21 days was necessary for a session of the All India General Council and of one week for a special meeting. Its elections were held annually and the quorum of meetings was 1/10 of its membership.

It was the highest authority which determined the policy and programmes of the Jana Sangh. It had the power to direct the lower units of the party. The Constitution could be amended by a 2/3 majority of the All India General Council members present and voting as it was amended by the eleventh party session held at Ahmedabad in 1963. It kept the record of its meetings. But as the actual proceedings of the Sabha bring to light the political decisions had already been formulated by the party executive before they were discussed in the annual session.

**All India Working Committee**

It was the highest executive body of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. It was composed of a President, two or more Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, one or more secretaries and a treasurer. These office bearers were nominated by the President himself from among the members of the Working Committee. The number of the Working Committee was not to be more than 51
of which at least three were women members and two belonged to the Scheduled tribes and two to the Scheduled Castes. All India Working Committee met after every four months but as required, more frequent meetings were held at shorter intervals.

The All India executive was empowered to frame rules with the consent of the All India Pratinidhi Sabha for the proper implementation of the constitution. The Bharatiya Karya Samiti had to carry out the policies adopted by the Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha. No doubt, Pradeshik Karya Samitis were free to formulate their policies at the State level but they were responsible before the Bharatiya Karya Samiti as it had the power to take disciplinary action against any individual Samiti. In practice, the Bharatiya Karya Samiti superintended, directed and controlled all Pradeshik Karya Samitis. It conducted all other activities as were proper and essential for the attainment of the aims and objectives of the Jana Sangh. It issued directions to various committees of Bharatiya Jana Sangh for the proper maintenance of party funds. To contest the election, like the Pradeshik Working Committee, it had the power to appoint a parliamentary Board of not more than seven members. In case of any difficulty in the working of the constitution, the All India Working Committee had the power to amend or alter any of the provisions of the Constitution. It also made arrangements for the auditing of the central and Pradesh accounts.
Thus the real power of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh was vested in
the hands of the All India Working Committee which was answerable
only theoretically to the Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha.

The office of the President of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh
was of the greatest significance. He was the chief spokesman of
the party. His election procedure was complicated as he was
indirectly elected by the All India General Council. The All
India General Secretary conducted the election of the President.
Every Pradesh Working Committee nominated one person for the post
of President, but in the end elections had always been unanimous.

The President appointed office bearers including the
two vice-Presidents and nominated the whole of the Central
executive. Thus he exercised a considerable power in the party.
He presided over and regulated the meetings of the Working
Committee. He issued statements on the party attitude on various
issues in line with the Party's statement of policy and undertook
tours for organizational and propaganda purposes. He had the
power to constitute a Tribunal of three disinterested individuals
to solve disputes arising out of the constitution. According to
its constitution, the President enjoyed a wide range of powers.
No other party President in India i.e. Congress party, the Swatantra
Party and the communist Party of India, has similar powers, as
he had, for he had the right to nominate party executive.

The position of the President of the Bharatiya Jana
Sangh depended mainly upon the man who held the post. Shyama
Prasad Mookerjee who was an outstanding figure was its first
President who acted with great authority from 1951 to 1953. In 1977 when it merged into Bharatiya Janta Party, A.B. Vajpayee was its President. In practice real power was vested with the General Secretary. According to Vaid Guru Datt, (once a prominent member of Delhi Jana Sangh unit) Deen Dayal Upadhayaya, General Secretary dominated over every President since S. Mookerjee. The degree of domination by the General Secretary and his R.S.S. fellow depended upon President to President, but the domination was there.

Enrollment of Members

Any Indian citizen of 18 years and above could become a member of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh on accepting the aims and objectives of the party constitution. A person remained to be a member as long as he continued to contribute a minimum amount of 50 paise to the membership fund every year, or until he resigned or was removed. The function of enrolling members was carried out by the local committee where there was no local committee, this was done by the Mandal committee. The membership year began from 1st Vaishakh. The term of membership was two years.

Active Members:

As far as possible only active workers were elected as office bearers. A member was considered active if (a) he attended at least 50 per cent meetings of the committee or council of which he was a member (b) was engaged in some activity
which was directly linked with the Party work or work of the Parliament, Legislature or a Local Government body as an elected representative of the Jana Sangh or allied social work duly recognised by the Party. A member was considered inactive (a) if he absented himself from unit concerned continuously for three meetings without permission (b) if he failed to enrol 11 members of the Jana Sangh every term (c) if he failed to pay his fee within three months of becoming a member. The All India Working Committee had the right to make an exception to rules as stated above and the President of the Pradesh was also empowered to do so. In case a member was simultaneously a member of many committees, he could attend meetings of the lower committees at his convenience. There were also paid workers for the organization of the Jana Sangh. Mostly, the Party leaders and workers were bachelors because they could be full time party workers without domestic cares.

Every political Party tries its best to become popular among the masses by creating various auxiliary organizations. However, the Jana Sangh was against the affiliation of any trade union or other association, but like the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party, it had developed a close relationship with the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (Indian Labour Union formed on the initiative of the Jana Sangh) and Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (All Indian student association formed on the initiative
of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh) as they had ideological affinities. The Jana Sangh did not control auxiliary bodies financially or in any other manner whereas the Congress Party has full control over the Seva Dal and Youth Congress. It had control over its finances. The auxiliary organizations of the Jana Sangh were not affiliated to the Party but many workers of the Jana Sangh worked in these organizations and in turn helped the party to fight Communist ideology. For this an analogy can be found in the Akali Dal which has close links with the Youth Akali Dal, the Istri Akali Dal, and the All-India Sikh Students’ Federation.

**Funds:**

Finance is part and parcel of every political party and without funds a party cannot survive. The main sources of Jana Sangh finance was 'donation' by the people, particularly for the General elections. The Jana Sangh received substantial financial help from both small as well as rich businessmen who had faith in the ideology of the Party. It raised funds from membership fees, purse collections, monthly donations by party members, sale of the party literature and monthly collections from elected members. No amount was collected on behalf of the Jana Sangh without issuing a receipt. It was the responsibility of the treasurer of every committee to maintain regular accounts, get them audited every year and have them passed by the committee. The All India Working Committee had to arrange for auditing of
central and Pradesh Accounts. The Pradesh Working Committee had to contribute to the central fund from time to time an amount decided in this behalf by the All-India Working Committee or a share of its collected funds, as was decided. The Mandal Samitis distributed the membership fee among the local committees. Candidate fees and monthly collections from elected members was spent by the Parliamentary Board. Funds collected in the form of monthly contributions were used for that committee but it was essential to send an account of this collection to the Pradesh Working Committee.

Funds were spent on General Elections (both Assembly and Parliament) The Jana Sangh spent money for the organization of demonstrations, agitations and public meetings. It had to make payments for office rent, telephone bills and leaders tour programmes. It spent a lot of funds on items like posters, handbills, publicity material, food and lodging arrangement for the party volunteers, expenses on the organization of rallies and dhamas etc. Also it had to make payments to the paid employees of the party.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income in Rs.</th>
<th>Expenditure in Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>30,561.00</td>
<td>18,922.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>82,003.00</td>
<td>81,562.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>34,702.00</td>
<td>21,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>34,853.00</td>
<td>15,100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>42,753.00</td>
<td>35,181.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>21,133.16</td>
<td>19,130.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures have been compiled from the Punjab and Haryana Jana Sangh Office, Chandigarh.
From 1951 to 1970 no record is available in the office. From the inception of the Punjab Pradesh Jana Sangh to 1970 the Party total income was estimated to be Rs. 30,000 on average per year. In 1971-72, the figure of income and expenditure touched all records i.e. Rs. 82,003 and Rs. 81,562.35 paise respectively. During 1971-72, the Jana Sangh contested two elections, first 1971 mid term Lok Sabha Poll in which it failed to win even a single seat and second 1972 Assembly elections in which it also turned out a blank. Above all in 1971-72 it fought agitations also and bought a Jeep. The period of 1975-76 shows that its income was reduced, the cause was simple that many of its members were in jails, (emergency period) otherwise its income went on increasing with the increase of membership.

The question of discipline acquires greater attention because the membership of the all-India Parties is counted in Lakhs. Internal discipline in the Jana Sangh was maintained by resorting to different methods such as laying down rules for members and units, taking disciplinary action, suspension from membership or personal check and supervision by the leaders. In the Jana Sangh, those members who were R.S.S. oriented, presented no problem of discipline because the R.S.S. was known for maintaining strict discipline within its ranks. Apart from laying down rules for members and party units, the leaders maintained a personal check and supervision with a view to maintaining party discipline. Indeed, the discipline in the Jana Sangh Party was of such a high order that there was no
defection or floor crossing in the party. This was an important distinction as compared to other Indian political parties.

In Punjab the Jana Sangh was an urban Hindu party. Of course the rural areas of Punjab never obliged the party (except in 1969 when it had an alliance with the Akali Dal) which is clear from the election results of Punjab Vidhan Sabha elections. In all the Vidhan Sabha elections there was a wide gap between the rural and urban votes it polled. (See appendix III of Chapter IV). This picture shows that the party was urban in its character in Punjab and its chief drawback besides its conspicuous obscurantism, was its zeal for Hindi, which made it unacceptable in the rural constituencies.

Further it was confined to certain sections, regions and strata of society. It drew its support from the conservative economic interests and from those who were inspired by the past glory of India. The Jana Sangh in the areas with predominant population of Scheduled castes failed to get much support simply because the Scheduled castes since the days of Mahatma Gandhi were with the Congress party. The Jana Sangh could not attract them much since it had no ready allurement to offer to scheduled castes except its pro-poor economic policies. Before, 1967, it was supported by a majority of Arya Samajies, but after coalition Government with the Akalis in 1967, it lost the faith of Arya Samajies. It did not attract to its fold Muslims because of its aggressive pro-Hindus image. An increase of urban votes for Jana Sangh was
an increase in anti-Muslim sentiments among Hindus. The Party attracted to itself those who belonged to the tradition-oriented Brahmin community, small traders, small peasants, middle class professionals and white-collar workers. A large number of intellectuals and professionals of the middle class who had Rashtria Swayam Sewak Sangh origin and orientation also joined the Jana Sangh.

In order to strengthen the organization, the party held provincial meetings. Every district and Mandal Working Committee held weekly and special meetings to discuss various problems and to educate the workers. To mobilize the public opinion on public issues; to provide political education; and to convey the message of the Jana Sangh to the remotest villages of the State, it organized conferences and distributed literature. Usually the conferences were organized in cities and towns and it was only during the election days that the party workers penetrated into the rural areas of the state. For want of wholetime workers there was no constant contact with the rural areas. No doubt, the Jana Sangh was aware of its weak contacts with the rural and Harijan population of the state but the steps it pressed into service to broaden the party base amongst the Harijans and rural areas could not yield desired results partly because of the very small percentage of the Hindu population in the rural areas and partly because of the urban and high-caste-dominated image of the Party. Of course, the R.S.S. was not the only source of membership
for the Jana Sangh, although, it was the primary source of organizational strength.

In the late 50's a Mahila wing was organized under the leadership of Bimla Kohli and after her Kamla Verma and Mrs. Pal Tandon played a pivotal role in organizing the Mahila wing of the party. This wing had 60 Mandals in the whole of Punjab and each district had 4 to 6 Mandals. The Jana Sangh had firm roots in this organization because the district Presidents and Secretaries were the pivotal elements of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, who constituted the Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha.

Conclusion

The organizational set up of the Jana Sangh was democratic in the sense that the lower units like local committees, Mandal Samitis, and district Committees had a free hand in taking the ultimate decisions. The party recognised the fact that public grievances could be easily and effectively redressed only by those who were nearest to the people; hence these local committees were given due consideration.

Its organization was fairly strong, not only on paper, but also in actual practice. There was no lust for power among its workers and they worked whole-heartedly only to uplift the party image. "The strength of an organization depends not merely on the number of the members but on the idealism and discipline
of its members. In fact, a person with a high sense of idealism can alone dedicate himself to the selfless service of the people.\textsuperscript{30} No doubt, its members were free in discussing and criticising its policies in its meetings. However, once a policy was decided the membership was expected to adhere strictly to it.\textsuperscript{31} What mattered for the party were its principles and ideology and not numbers and it never hesitated in suspending and taking other disciplinary action against those who drifted away from the mainstream. In fact, it was fortunate enough in having a thoroughly organized structure with disciplined R.S.S. cadre. Mainly members having R.S.S. orientation were elected as its presidents and Secretaries. In reality, the Jana Sangh was a highly disciplined and cohesive political party as compared to the other political parties including the C.P.I. and the Congress. The R.S.S. background made it a highly close-knit unit with great emphasis on discipline. Thus at the organisational level the party's structure was democratic both in form and content. Dissent and criticism were never suppressed and decisions were arrived at by majority, and that is why unlike many other political parties there had been no public criticism of the party by its members. Differences were always thrashed out and the internal cohesion of the party was always maintained.
REFERENCES

1. Local Committee
2. Karya Samiti
4. Article 7, (2) Ibid.
5. Article 9, Clause I, Ibid.
6. Article 9, Clause I, Ibid.
7. Article 9, Clause 3, Ibid.
10. Article 10, Clause 1/ Jana Sangh Constitution.
12. The State Delegates Conference.
14. The State Executive Committee.
15. Article 13, Clause 1, Ibid.
16. Article 13, Clause 5.
17. Article 18, Ibid.
18. Article 14(c), Ibid.
20. Central Executive Committee.

22. Article 21, Clause 1.

23. Article 15, Clause 1.

24. All India Executive Committee.

25. All India Executive or Central Executive Committee.

26. Article 21.2. Ibid.

27. 1951-53, Shyama Prasad Mookerjee was its President after him.
    1954, Pandit Prem Nath Dogra.
    1955 to 1958, Principal Dev Prasad Ghosh.
    1959, Pitamber Dass.
    1960-61, Shri A. Ram Rao.
    1962-63, Raghuvira.
    1964, D.P. Ghosh became the President of Bharatiya Jana Sangh.


31. Though Vishwanathan and Krishan Lal were not in favour of making an alliance with the Akalis and opposed it in its meetings, when the decision was taken they followed it in toto. Moreover the Punjab Jana Sangh joined and quit the Akali coalition Government when the Central High Command allowed it to do so.