CHAPTER—5

MOVEMENTS AND AGITATIONS

The Punjab Jana Sangh had been echoing the aspirations of the Punjabis since its inception. As their representative it had to grapple with various problems from time to time. Its approach and technique were determined by the situation prevailing at a particular time and the problem involved. To achieve its aim it had occasionally to launch certain movements and agitations which may be divided into two parts: issues within Punjab such as the refugee problem, the language problem and Punjabi Suba etc.; and issues outside the Punjab like the Jammu and Kashmir problem, the Goa Problem and aggressions by China and Pakistan etc.

1. Issues Within Punjab

Refugee Problem: After the partition of India into India and Pakistan millions of Hindu and Sikh refugees came
from Pakistan with their woeful stories leaving their hearths and homes in Pakistan. The Jana Sangh used all the forums available to it to focus attention on the grievances of these refugees. It organised conferences and public meetings to help them. It demanded that government should allot land, houses and give interest-free loans to them. Relief Camps for refugees were put up at Jalandhar and Ludhiana. In these camps the party tried to provide every facility to the refugees for which money collected by its workers from donors. Its workers helped the refugees to get loans from the government. The workers held deputations and led demonstrations to build a pressure on the Central Government to mitigate the sufferings of the refugees.¹

The Third annual session of the Punjab Jana Sangh was held in Ludhiana on December 17, 18 and 19, 1954 in which the President of the Punjab Jana Sangh, Acharya Ram Dev, while giving first importance to the refugee problem, declared: "those who had been uprooted from their hearths and homes were still leading an unhappy life." He further said "the Government policy towards the rehabilitation of refugees was an infamous instance of treachery." The Party resolution of January 1954 on rehabilitation said "things were moving much too slow. Even out455000 persons covered by the high priority categories only 22 had so far received compensation —and that too only in part. The Government of India, it said, must associate Refugee Associations in this work and conduct it swiftly on a war basis."² The Party wanted
that the Government should give to refugees long term loans on easy instalments, should grant them relief from tax, should carry on relief work on a war-footing and should provide them employment and financial assistance. Its endless efforts made the Government gear up its activities to mitigate the sufferings of the refugees. As a consequence of these services the refugees became the sheet-anchor of the Jana Sangh, and in all elections, municipal or legislative, they voted for the Jana Sangh.

Language Problem: Some of the most bitter controversies in the politics of Punjab have been over the issues of language and script. In the Punjab of Pre-British days—under the Mughals and the Sikhs—the court language was Persian and even Punjabi was invariably written in the Persian script. Under the British rule, however, Urdu was made the court language in addition to English, a position which it continued to enjoy till the partition. After partition the picture got changed. The Sikhs who were hounded out of West Punjab now settled in East Punjab. With this new concentration of their population, the Sikhs plunged into the language controversy and propagated for Punjabi in Gurumukhi Script. The Jana Sangh raised the slogan of “Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan”. These controversies gradually resulted in creating communal polarisation on the language issue.

During the last decade of the 19th century, the Arya Samaj had struck roots among the urban Hindu population of Punjab and it propagated the use of Hindi in Devanagri script. The cause of Punjabi, on the other hand, was taken up by the Chief Khalsa
Dewan — a religious organization of the Sikhs during the same period.

In the ever growing communal atmosphere, the demand for giving better place to Hindi and Punjabi increasingly gained momentum. Ultimately the Punjab Government of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan in the pre-partition days conceded these demands and recognised the status of both these languages in the educational curriculum under the Sikandar—Baldev Singh Pact. After the partition, Urdu was ousted, but the controversy regarding the place of Hindi and Punjabi in East Punjab took the place of the earlier controversy. Then in order to settle matters the Sachar Formula on the language question was adopted on Oct. 1, 1949. In order to counter the Akali claim of Punjabi as the regional language of Punjab, the Jana Sangh started a campaign that the Hindus of Punjab should declare Hindi as their mother-tongue. Unfortunately, Hindi came to be identified with the Hind\textsuperscript{u} and Gurumukhi (Punjabi) with the Sikhs. Thus language and script became symbols of religion.

The Punjab Jana Sangh extended full co-operation to the Hindi Raksha Satyagraha started by Hindi Raksha Samiti in support of its demands that there should be one language formula in the whole state of New Punjab, the medium of instruction in educational institutions should be left entirely to the choice of parents, and Hindi should replace English at all levels of administration. In 1957, the Jana Sangh organised a number of demonstrations and rallies demanding an honourable position for Hindi in the State.
Its leaders maintained strongly that the Gurumukhi script should not be compulsory for the Punjabi language. It should be discretionary for an individual to learn, or not to learn, Punjabi language in Gurumukhi script. People should have complete freedom to choose the script. They held that while Punjabi may be the state language, Hindi should be given a special place as it was the national language of the country. Punjabi should be the Secretariat language but some forms and other stationary should be printed in Hindi as well.4

On August 7, 1957, the Jathas of "Save Hindi Satyagraha", led by Jana Sangh leaders, demonstrated outside the civil Secretariat in Chandigarh. The Government perpetrated many atrocities to disperse the satyagrahis.5 The enthusiasm among the people was so great that the number of satyagrahis rose ten times more than the number of satyagrahis of the Punjab Jana Sangh who took part in Kashmir Movement of 1952-53. This satyagraha was suspended in December 1957 when the Union Home Minister gave an assurance to release unconditionally all those arrested in connection with the satyagraha.

Even in November 1960 when the R.S.S. Chief M.S.Golwalkar advised the Hindus in the Punjab (during his visit to Jalandhar) "to accept Punjabi as their mother tongue" the Punjab Jana Sangh publically repudiated him.6 The reorganization of the State of Punjab on November 1, 1966 and the chopping off of Haryana and Himachal, did not immediately settle the controversial issue of language and script in the new state of Punjab though both the Akali Dal and the Jana Sangh called Punjab as a unilingual
Punjabi-speaking State. Finally it was on the language controversy that the Akali-Jana Sangh alignment floundered in June 30, 1970.

After the election of 1967 the non-Congress parties formed a coalition called the Peoples United Front. The Punjab Jana Sangh demanded many safeguards on the Hindi question as a pre-condition for joining this coalition and the Akali Dal accepted them. In a resolution of the Working Committee of the Punjab Jana Sangh demanded that Hindi should continue to enjoy the same facilities as it did in the Punjabi Region before the re-organization of Composite Punjab. Baldev Prakash assured the Hindi lovers that the Jana Sangh would never allow the cause of Hindi to suffer and that the Party would be prepared to make all sacrifices to safeguard the interests of Hindi. The Committee was of the view that teaching of both Hindi and Punjabi should be made compulsory and Hindi should be recognised as the link language in place of English. In its election manifesto in the mid term elections 1969, the Jana Sangh accepted the unilingual character of the Punjab with Punjabi as the sole official language of the State. It promised to secure for Hindi the Status of a "language of use" i.e. all legislation, gazette notifications and voter lists, will be published both in Hindi and Punjabi.

The Punjab Jana Sangh had threatened to quit the Akali-Jana Sangh coalition four times (once in June, twice in July and once in September) and had instructed one of its members,
Man Mohan Kalla, to refuse to take the oath of office as a minister unless the demand on language—the right of Government aided private schools to use Hindi as medium of instruction—was conceded. Dev Dutt Sharma, Organizing Secretary of the Punjab Jana Sangh, threatened on November 15, 1969 that the workers of the Jana Sangh would boycott all Government functions if the State Government did not use Hindi along with Punjabi in the invitation cards and in other correspondence.

The new decision of the Punjabi University, Patiala in 1970 to make the study of English and Punjabi languages compulsory for all students of B.A. courses to the exclusion of Hindi language, which had been made an optional subject, was deeply resented by the Punjab Jana Sangh.

The sensitive language issue of Hindi versus Punjabi soon took the form of Hindu versus Sikhs and Punjabi Suba versus Maha Punjab. The Arya Samaj, a staunch supporter of Hindi, had deep roots in the Punjabi Hindu society and had its spokesmen in many Hindu Organizations. On the Sikh side, the Singh Sabha, an important movement among the Sikhs, was doing the same among its own people for Punjabi. It is quite true that at the early stages there was harmony, but it could not last long. With the passage of time these two movements began to work vigorously for their own communities. In this process walls of separatism began to rise and seeds of separatism were sown in the minds of the Hindus and the Sikhs. After the partition the Sikhs began
to espouse the cause of Punjabi and their cause was strengthened by the reorganisation of many states on linguistic basis. If the other states could be unilingual then why not Punjab, was their simple and forceful argument.

The Hindus actually were not so much against Punjabi as against Sikh domination in Punjab. They, therefore, opted for Hindi in the hope that it would be difficult for the government to carve a Punjabi Suba out of this bilingual region. Hindi and Punjabi were thus used only as covers for their real designs both by the Hindus and Sikhs.

The language problem assumed highly combustible and explosive dimensions. The Akalis laid the charge against the Jana Sangh that they spoke Punjabi and yet insisted on Hindi. They maintained that since they had readily accepted Hindi as the national language the Jana Sangh should accept Punjabi as the State language. The Jana Sangh on the other hand felt that under the cover of Punjabi the Akalis were fighting the battle for Sikh home land. Both of them forgot that language is the vehicle of expression and not of dispute. As the tempo of this language controversy increased, mutual distrust also increased. The chief of the R.S.S., sensing the danger ahead, advised his followers to own Punjabi, but in the heat of the battle the Jana Sangh refused to accept his statesman like advice. Future events sowed even greater hatred and acrimony.

**Punjabi Suba Agitation**

Apart from the language controversy, a more baffling and highly
controversial problem which confronted the Punjab. Jana Sangh was the Akali demand for Punjabi Suba. This was not of recent origin but dated back to the pre-partition days, when it was put up in the form of a demand for a sovereign Sikh State. The slogan raised by the Akali Dal immediately before the partition was — “Hindus have got Hindustan, Muslims have got Pakistan and Sikhs should get Sikhistan — Sovereign Sikh State”. When the British Cabinet Mission visited India in 1946, the Akali Party submitted a memorandum to it in which it gave expression to its political objectives. In May 1946, Master Tara Singh, the leader of the Akali Party, declared: “The boundaries of Punjab should be so realigned as to carve out a new state which the Sikhs should call their own. We want a separate Sikh State.”

Again on behalf of the Akali Party its Secretary, Giani Kartar Singh, a most astute politician and a man of consummate energy and drive stated at the all parties conference held in Rawalpindi in January 1947 “The Sikhs should be allowed to form an independent state of their own in North India.”

After the partition the demand for a “Punjabi Suba” was made in February, 1948 by Master Tara Singh. He said “We have a culture different from the Hindus. Our culture is Gurumukhi culture and our literature is also in the Gurumukhi script.” He added “we want to have a province where we can safeguard our culture and our traditions.” The demand was repeated and got impetus when the minority rights were being discussed by the Constituent Assembly.
The Jana Sangh was of the opinion that the Muslim League could achieve Pakistan because of the Congress policy of appeasement, but now it should follow a strong policy towards all religious minorities. It described the Akali demand as analogous to the Muslim League demand for the division of the country in the pre-partition days. The communist Party of India on the other hand supported the Akali demand though the Jana Sangh stated that it wanted "to weaken the frontier region of India." The Congress Party supported the demand for an enlarged Punjab.  

Shyama Prasad Mookerjee on his trip to Kashmir, stopped in Amritsar on May 10, 1953, and talked with Master Tara Singh. He reiterated the Jana Sangh opposition to Punjabi Suba. When the Shiromani Akali Dal, led by Master Tara Singh, pressed its demand for a separate state for the Punjabi speaking areas of Punjab, the Hindus, led by the Jana Sangh, countered it with a demand for a unilingual state of Maha Punjab in which Hindi in the Devanagari script should be the only official language and Punjabi should be relegated to the status of a minority language.

The Maha Punjab demand was supported by the Hindu Maha Sabha, the Jana Sangh and the Arya Samaj. They criticised the demand for the Punjabi Suba as a purely communal demand camouflaged as a demand for a linguistic state and advocated the formation of a Maha Punjab comprising the Punjab, Pepsu, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and a few districts of Western U.P. They held that this was more suitable in the changed political situation of this border state after the partition. Considerations of unity
and security of India must outweigh all other considerations, they argued. It was necessary, therefore, that the Western frontier with "aggressive and hostile" Pakistan should be properly safeguarded. The aim for the creation of the Punjabi-speaking State, they alleged, was to bring into being a State where the Sikhs would be either numerically a majority or such a substantial minority as "to make them the real power in the State."

The Maha Punjab Samiti held that for various administrative purposes, greater Punjab was already functioning and therefore in order to attain financial stability and solvency, re-amalgamation of Punjab, PEPSU and Himachal into Maha Punjab was an imperative necessity.

The States Reorganization Commission who visited Punjab in April 1955, went into the question of Punjabi Suba very minutely, and rejected it on cogent and irrefutable grounds.

The Jana Sangh was generally satisfied with the States Reorganisation Commission (S.R.C.) report but it evoked strong reactions in the Sikh quarters. There was some apprehension that the Central government might tamper with the S.R.C. recommendations and/or counteract this Balramjidas Tandon, the Jana Sangh leader, led a "token" demonstration in front of the Prime Ministers' residence in New Delhi.

Diwan Alakh Dhari, leader of the Punjab Jana Sangh while presenting the case for United Punjab, stated "the country between Jamuna and Ravi constitutes a single region geographically,"
culturally, socially and ethnologically. The States of PePSU—Punjab and Himachal Pradesh together make up a single unit. None of the three states is financially self-sufficient. Moreover, Himachal region is bounded on the North by the territories of the Communist Republic of China. In many places the boundary line is not yet properly demarcated. The political fluidity and vagueness renders it necessary that the administration of this region must be entrusted to a bigger and more resourceful Government."

The Jana Sangh submitted its memorandum for Maha Punjab to the States Reorganization Commission emphasising that for greater and more intensive development of the natural resources of this region, and to serve the best interests of the people inhabiting this area, and in order to convert this region into a defence wall of the North-West border of the Union of India, the integration of East Punjab, Pepsu and Himachal Pradesh into a single administrative organization was a strategic necessity of the first magnitude."

The Akalis, true to their agitational politics raised loud hue and cry against the S.R.C. report. The Government, they said, 'wanted to throttle the Sikhs, their language, their culture, their religion and all that they stressed and stood for. Such views, echoed at several places and platforms, put up the Sikhs as an aggrieved party. These views also gave teeth to their movement against the Central Government. The Congress party, which had a long tradition of bending before violence,
As the Akali Dal was dissatisfied and disgruntled against the recommendations of the S.R.C., parleys were held between the Government and the Akali Dal. These resulted in an agreement between the two which is called the Regional Formula. The Government kept the contents of this Formula such a zealously-guarded secret that Balramji Dass Tandon had to resort to hunger-strike in Amritsar just to get the official copy of the scheme for the Regional Standing Committee. It was as a result of this pressure that the Government published the Regional Formula Scheme.  

Outline of the scheme for Regional Committee in the Punjab State laid on the table of the House, Lok Sabha, on April 3, 1955:

1. There will be one legislature for the whole of the reorganised state of the Punjab, which will be the sole law-making body for the entire state, and there will be one Governor for the state, aided and advised by a council of ministers responsible to the State Assembly for the entire field of administration.

2. For the more convenient transaction of the business of Government with regard to some specified matters, the State will be divided into two regions, namely, the Punjabi-speaking and the Hindi-speaking regions.

3. For each region there will be a regional committee of the State Assembly consisting of the members of the State Assembly
belonging to each region including the ministers from that region but not including the Chief Minister.

4. Legislation relating to specified matters will be referred to the Regional Committees. In respect of specified matters proposals may also be made by the Regional Committees to the State Government for Legislation or with regard to questions of general policy and not involving any financial commitments other than expenditure of a routine and incidental character.

5. The advice tendered by the Regional Committees will normally be accepted by the Government and the State Legislature. In case of difference of opinion, reference will be made to the Governor whose decision will be final and binding.

6. The Regional Committees will deal with the following matters:

   (i) Development and economic planning, within the framework of the general development plans and policies formulated by the State legislature;

   (ii) Local self-Government, that is to say, the constitutional powers of municipal corporations, improvement trusts, district boards and other local authorities for the purpose of local self-government or village administration including Panchayats;

   (iii) Public Health and Sanitation, local hospitals and dispensaries;
(iv) Primary and Secondary education;
(v) Agriculture;
(vi) Cottage and small-scale industries;
(vii) Preservation, protection and improvement of stock and prevention of animal disease, veterinary training and practice;
(viii) Ponds and prevention of cattle trespass;
(ix) Protection of wild animals and birds;
(x) Fisheries;
(xi) Inns and inn-keepers;
(xii) Markets and fairs;
(xiii) Co-operative societies; and
(xiv) Charities and Charitable institutions, charitable and religious endowments and religious institutions.

7. Provision will be made under the appropriate statute to empower the President to constitute regional committees and to make provision in the rules of business of Government and the rules of procedure of the Legislative Assembly in order to give effect to the arrangements outlined in the preceding paragraphs. The provisions made in the rules of business and procedure for the proper functioning of regional committees will not be altered without the approval of the President.

8. The demarcation of the Hindi and Punjabi regions in the proposed Punjab State will be done in consultation with the State Government and the other interests concerned.
9. The Sachar Formula will continue to operate in the area comprised in the existing Punjab State and in the area now comprised in the PEPSU State. The existing arrangements will continue until they are replaced or altered by agreement later.

10. The official language of each region will, at the district level and below, be the respective regional language.

11. The State will be bi-lingual recognising both Punjabi (in Gurmukhi script) and Hindi (in Devanagri script) as the official languages of the State.

12. The Punjab Government will establish two separate departments for developing Punjabi and Hindi languages.

13. The general safeguards proposed for linguistic minorities will be applicable to the Punjab like other states.

14. In accordance with and in furtherance of its policy, to promote the growth of all regional languages the Central Government will encourage the development of the Punjabi language.

The Regional Formula was accepted by Master Tara Singh and the Akali Dal (that the Scheme fulfilled the aspirations of the Sikhs) but the report met with scathing criticism at the hands of the Maha Punjab Samiti. The Maha Punjabi was opposed to the suggestion of Hindi being made a second language in the proposed Punjabi region and they accused the Government of yielding to the Akali pressure.

The Jana Sangh's apprehension was that the scheme had many salient points which could be further developed by the
Akali Dal to revert to its original demand of the Punjabi speaking state. The Jana Sangh's other apprehensions were like this:

In the first place, in clause No. 2 of the scheme, it is stated "for the more convenient transaction of the business of the government with regard to some specified matters, the state will be divided into two regions, namely, the Punjabi speaking and Hindi speaking region". But it argued had the formation of regional committees been essential for more convenient transaction of the business of Government, they should have been formed in bigger states like U.P. and Madhya Pradesh than in a small state like Punjab.

Secondly, the supreme power of arbitration being granted to the Governor in the proposed Punjab State, would drag the Governor into day to day political wrangles and controversies. This would make the scheme unworkable and might lead to the demand of elected Governor which in the opinion of the Jana Sangh, was suicidal to national unity.

Thirdly, the Regional Scheme made a study of Punjabi language in Gurumukhi script compulsory for the children of this region from the 5th class. This was already in practice according to the Sachar Formula. But the Maha Punjab Samiti now pressed the point that Punjabi was neither the regional nor the national language for the people of Haryana region. Therefore, its study should not be compulsory in this region for their children.
Fourthly, the Samiti held that the proposed scheme applied the reverse gear to the idea of Zonal council enunciated by the Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru. It would impede the trend towards bigger states and lead to the creation of federation within a federation when the unity, security and integrity of India demands the immediate setting up of a unitary form of Government.

Fifthly, the proposed Scheme would set-up a dyarchical Government and Regional Standing Committees. It held that the Regional Formula was like the Lucknow Pact and was only a stepping stone to Punjabi Suba.

Last, but not the least, the inclusion of ministers as heads of Regional Standing Committees would violate the principle of joint responsibility of the cabinet. Not only the legislators but even the ministers would vie with one another in espousing regional loyalties.

This regional formula was a half way house for the Akalis in the matter of their aspirations. They thought rightly that it could become a stepping stone for further demands. The Congress accepted it thinking that it will satisfy the Akalis to a considerable extent and thus the atmosphere of mutual distress and bickering will come to an end. The Jana Sangh was in a sense right that the Akalis were moving steadily and slowly towards their goal of sovereign Sikh State. These concessions further sharpened the appetite of the Akalis and also made the Hindu-
Sikh divide wider. They ignored the fact that many Hindus practised the Sikh religion, worshipped the Guru Granth and made pilgrimage to the golden temple. In fact the Akalis did not devise any comfort from this aspect of the reality on the ground.

The Punjab Jana Sangh demonstrated on April 24, 1956 in Amritsar, Jalandhar and Ludhiana in protest against the Regional Formula and shouted slogans like "Maha Punjab Zindabad" and "regional scheme murdabad". Many workers were arrested/detained.23

"The Working Committee outright rejected the very conception of regions on communal basis. It felt that the creation of regions on communal lines would be ruinous to national unity, accentuate communal differences and exacerbate caste cleavages."

Captain KeshaP Chander, President of the Punjab Jana Sangh and Secretary of the Maha Punjab, referring to the Regional Formula said, "The whole scheme is based on poisonous communal division of Punjab state. We are convinced that by the implementation of this Regional Formula, unity and integrity of our country will be gravely imperilled.24

On June 13, 1956 the Maha Punjab Samiti, Hoshiarpur staged a demonstration against the regional scheme.25 The Maha Punjab Samiti threatened "direct action", if a mutually satisfactory solution to the Punjab tangle was not found by
June 17, 1956. It opposed the Government-Akali settlement for other parties had not been consulted. It suggested that a round-table conference of Akali and other parties should be called to recommend agreed changes.26

The Jana Sangh was of the considered view that the 'Regional Formula', by dividing the border State of Punjab on communal lines had created a grave danger to the integrity and security of India as a whole. It stated that the demarcation of the so-called Punjabi region had been done with the sole object of bringing together all Sikh majority areas, so that the aim of the Akali Dal to secure a definite area wherein they may have unquestioned domination may be somehow achieved. The Regional Formula had been carved out only to appease the Akali Dal.27

The 'Regional Formula' had been also condemned by the Communist Party on the ground that the people of the Punjabi area would be pitted against the (now) Haryana area people on demands for finances for development. The second ground was that the communalists would seek to create communal passions on several issues inside the regional councils.

The Government of India neither withdrew the Regional plan as suggested by the Maha Punjab Samiti nor did it call a round table conference.

Thus the Regional Standing Committees as drafted by the Government of India and the Akali Dal, far from being a lasting and fair solution of the Punjab Problem, only helped
in aggravating the situation and strengthening the forces of communalism and separation.

Both Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh, then the Masters' principal lieutenant, had gone on fast unto death for the creation of Punjabi Suba. Each fast ended with some concessions by the Government of India. Throughout these Sikh communal activities the Jana Sangh opposed the Akalis, but this opposition was largely in the form of resolutions and speeches. It continued to oppose the concept of the Regional Committees although its assembly members attended the meetings of the Committees.28

The Punjab Jana Sangh observed August 27, 1961 as United Punjab Day. It adopted a resolution that any solution by the Government which directly or indirectly accepted the demand for a Punjabi speaking State would be opposed.29

When Master Tara Singh on Hari Singh Nalwa Day on July 4, 1965, in Ludhiana, got a resolution passed demanding a "self determined political status for the Sikh community within the Union of India", the Punjab Jana Sangh criticised it very forcefully.

In August 1965, Sant Fateh Singh, announced plans to go on a fast to be followed by self-immolation if the Suba demands were not granted. The Sant gave this threat when the country was facing Pakistani aggression. After much persuasion
the Sant agreed to postpone his action at least for the duration
of conflict with Pakistan. The Jana Sangh opposed Punjabi Suba
as strongly as ever. It had sternly warned the Government that
if it committed the folly of surrendering before such tactics
as self immolation, the situation throughout the country would
become extremely explosive. It held that it was fully determined
to offer the greatest sacrifice to keep Punjab undivided and to
maintain communal harmony.\textsuperscript{30} Yog Raj Surya Deva,\textsuperscript{31} Ram Gopal
Shalwale (who later became a Jana Sangh member of the Lok Sabha)
and several other Jana Sangh workers registered their names for
the offer of sacrificing themselves if the Government of India
yielded to Sant Fateh Singh's Punjabi Suba demand. The R.S.S.
Guru, M.S. Golwalkar, pointed out the folly of the Sikhs in
asking for a separate Punjabi Suba. Sikhism, he said, was born
as a sword—arm of Hinduism and is an integral part of it. The
opposition of the Punjab Jana Sangh to the Regional Formula and
Punjabi Suba did not register with the Akalis since they did not
make any change at all in their stand on the Punjabi Suba.

On 23 September 1965, Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then
Prime Minister of India, appointed a three member Union Cabinet
Committee to go into the question of Punjabi Suba. This
Committee fixed November 5, 1965 as the last date for presentation
of memoranda in favour of or against the demand for Punjabi Suba.
The Punjab Jana Sangh presented the memorandum "that it was in
favour of continuation of the status quo with the object of
strengthening the unity, security and integrity of the country."
It held that, "bilingual greater Punjab is not only essential from the point of view of national defence but also from the point of view of planned economic development."

The Congress Working Committee had also set up a sub-committee to go into the matter. When it passed the demand for the creation of Punjabi Suba on the language basis, the Jana Sangh Committee consisting of Balraj Madhok, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya and Baldev Prakash protested against it. On March 9, 1966, the Congress Working Committee's decision was announced that Punjabi Suba should be created out of the existing Punjab State and that a separate Hindi speaking State called Haryana should also be created. The hilly areas should be merged into Himachal Pradesh.32

The Jana Sangh reaction was swift in opposition to this. Y.D. Sharma, the General Secretary of the Punjab Jana Sangh began his fast unto death "to preserve the unity of the state and maintain peace and tranquillity in the face of the Akali threat of violent agitation or direct action.33 For more than a week the Jana Sangh demonstrated against the Punjabi Suba in Punjab, Haryana and Delhi. The Punjab Jana Sangh Working Committee held in the camp of the fasting Yagya Datt Sharma formed a five man action committee to carry on the agitation against the Congress decision on the formation of the Punjabi Suba. It denounced the Congress decision as a "surrender of national interest and national integrity before Akali separatism and
Y.D. Sharma gave up his fast on the 21st after receiving "assurances" which were announced in the Parliament by the Home Minister.

Finally, the Suba came into being in spite of all the opposition of the Jana Sangh. In fact its opposition to the Regional Formula and Punjabi Suba had little impact on the Government or the Akali Dal whose stand was that as in other parts of the country, states were reorganised on linguistic basis, it was the right thing for Punjab as well.

The Jana Sangh at its thirteenth session at Jalandhar on April 30, May 1 and 2, 1966 adopted a resolution that "the Home Minister's assurances would be carried out and said, "the Jana Sangh regards the Sikhs as part and parcel of the Hindu society.....we hope that they will keep themselves away from the pulls, and the leadership, which strive to sow among them seeds of separatism." Madhok's request to "own Gurumukhi" was reiterated by Golwalkar who in a tour of the Punjab asked Hindus to learn Punjabi as it too was "a language of Bharat".

A brief survey of the above mentioned events shows that the Jana Sangh at every point was fighting a losing battle. Its initial reaction to the Akali demands had been very stiff but when the demands were accepted by the government the Jana Sangh grudgingly accepted the inevitable. This shows the Jana Sangh leadership was swayed more by emotion than cool thinking. This attitude of emotionality dominating over rationality came...
to it. R.S.S. based leadership from the R.S.S. In the R.S.S. ideology sentiments, emotions and feelings are given more prominence to reason and thinking. It does not mean that the Akalis were less emotional and more rational. The Akalis had emerged their entire identity in their demands of language and of separate Suba. The Akalis, particularly the peasantry among them, could sustain every agitation over a long period of time while the Jana Sangh because of its class character mostly of shopkeepers and middle-class men, was not in a position to show persistence and perseverance in prolonging agitations.

Chandigarh

The Punjab Jana Sangh also took a strong stand on the Chandigarh issue. Though the party had not opposed the Akali Dal claim on Chandigarh because it considered that it was a just and a fair demand, but its active support came only after March 1967 when the party shared the government with the Akalis. It held that linguistically, culturally and from all other angles Chandigarh belonged to Punjab. It held dharanas and fasts in major cities of Punjab in support of Chandigarh for Punjab. At Hoshiarpur in Kanak Mandi one hundred Jana Sangh members sat at dhama to press for Punjab claim to Chandigarh. Its members took out a black flag procession at Sangrur led by Sant Harchand Singh on Republic day in support of its demand to hand over Chandigarh to Punjab. It staged 24 hours dharna and fast on October 9, 1969 outside the Prime Minister's residence in New Delhi and it took part in the peaceful
demonstration at Chandigarh on October 17, 1969 to press Punjab's claim for this city. It observed a hartal on December 11, 1969 in response to the call for 'Punjab Bandh' issued by the All Parties Action Committee. Even its Minister Tandon went to Delhi to press the Government of India to accept the state's demand relating to Chandigarh. On January 25, 1970, a large number of Jana Sangh workers along with Sikh men and women marched in a procession to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's residence. The Punjab Jana Sangh Minister Krishan Lal felt that the Akali—Jana Sangh Coalition Government should immediately quit office as a protest against the Centre's attitude on Chandigarh.

On the Prime Minister's Award on Chandigarh, the Jana Sangh welcomed the inclusion of Chandigarh in Punjab but it was against the transfer of 144 villages to Haryana and took the lead of Fazilka Tehsil to declare its opposition to the transfer of these areas to Haryana. The Punjab Jana Sangh Parliamentary Board, which met at Chandigarh on February 1, 1970, declared the Award as "most abject, humiliating, unjust and injurious to the interests of Punjab and that it is not acceptable to any self respecting Punjabi under any circumstances. The Parliamentary Board also called upon the Punjab Government to take a bold stand and reject the decision in toto immediately. "In case", the Parliamentary Board said, "the Punjab Government failed to take such a decision by February 10, the Jana Sangh will be constrained to take drastic steps to quit the Government. As Balram Ji Dass Tandon, a Jana Sangh leader,
said, precious areas of Fazilka Tehsil had been bartered away to get Chandigarh and he criticised, Gurnam Singh (then Chief Minister of Punjab, November 1970) for this 'abject' deal and he reiterated that 'at no cost will be willing to part with Fazilka and hinted at the possibility of the Jana Sangh and others joining hands to organise to retain it in Punjab. Thus the stand of the Punjab Jana Sangh remained strong, stable and unshakable throughout these movements and agitations. The attitude of the Jana Sangh during the crisis in Punjab left a bad taste in everyone's mouth. It provoked the extremists in the ranks of the Akali Dal, noted M.L. Rustogi (the Times of India special correspondent in the Punjab) to ask how long they could afford to appease the Sangh. The great difficulty was the Akalis mainly spoke for the Sikhs and the Jana Sangh for the Hindus and to camouflage the issue both spoke occasionally as Punjabis.

Common Links

The controversial issues of 'common links' between the newly created states of Punjab and Haryana and the demand for control over the Bhakra Dam complex, were supported by the Jana Sangh (though the Party had opposed this Akali demand before the March 1967 parleys). The Jana Sangh was totally opposed to the scrapping of links. It changed its attitude about the common links when it formed the Government. As Deen Dayal Upadhayaya said, the Sangh stand had changed in
accordance with the changed circumstances. Such changes only proved the dynamic character of the Jana Sangh policies that these "always changed in the interest of the common man."

In March 1966, Yagya Dutt Sharma had gone on 13 days "fast" against the reorganization of composite Punjab and there was anti-Punjabi Suba riots in all the major cities and towns of the composite Punjab. A delegation of the Jana Sangh and Arya Samaj leaders met the Union Home Minister, G.L. Nanda in New Delhi on March 20, 1966. The delegation consisted of Baldev Prakash, Ram Gopal Shalwala, Krishan Lal, Kesapn Chander, Siri Chand and Om prakash Tyagi. As a result of these discussions, Yagya Dutt Sharma 'broke' his fast in return for an assurance that the reorganization of the composite Punjab would be carried on strictly on (i) the principle of language (ii) and the Legislative interests of Hindi in the new state of Punjab will be safeguarded. But the assurance also accepted the principle of "many common links" to preserve as much unity between the successor states as would be practicable subject to their acceptance by the Akali leaders. These common links included provision for a common Governor, Joint services, electricity boards and common High Court etc.

When the Reorganization Act was passed, it provided for many common links, such as a common Governor, a common High Court, the Panjab University, Chandigarh and common management of Bhakra Dam Complex etc. Chandigarh was made a
Union Territory, but the city continued to house the Governments of Punjab and Haryana.

In October 1967, the "common Governor" link was also snapped when Dharam Vira's term ended and D.C. Pavate was appointed as the Governor of the Punjab in 1967. The removal of many common links such as electricity Board did not involve any controversy. In fact, in August 1977, when the Akali Janta coalition was formed in the Punjab and the Janta Government in Haryana, there was a serious move to revive the 'common link' of a common Governor for both the states. But it was not pursued, for the Akali Dal Working Committee did not approve of it. "The common High Court Link was never questioned either in Punjab or in Haryana, and the Punjab and Haryana High Court continues to serve both the states. The "common link" which raised much controversy was the management of the Bhakra Dam Complex. The Punjab never relinquished its control over it though in law, as laid down by the Punjab Reorganization Act, it was to be shared by all the beneficiary states as well as "the source" states of Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. The purpose of these common links was to provide a semblance of togetherness of the two states. It was a make shift arrangement to show that there is some common bond between Punjab and Haryana, as both these two new states began to regain their separate identity. Some common bonds had to be dismantled.

Since the Jana Sangh was an all-India party its various state units had to participate in the all-India issues and
problems from time to time. The Punjab Jana Sangh participated in and played a vital role in the following movements.

Jammu & Kashmir Problem

The Punjab Jana Sangh launched Satyagraha on March 6, 1953 in token of its sympathy and moral support for the Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad agitation for full and final accession of the state to the Union of India and the governance of the entire state of Jammu & Kashmir according to the constitution of India. In March 1953 the Jana Sangh workers of Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ferozepur, Ludhiana and Pathankot launched a peaceful crusade in the cause of the Jammu Praja Parishad's struggle. In most of the big cities and towns of Punjab section 144 had been clamped. Many batches of volunteers offered themselves for arrest by defying section 144. The satyagrahis slogan was that there should be "Ek Nishan", "Ek Vidhan", "Ek Pradhan" (one flag, one constitution, one President) The satyagrahis were tortured by the police. On 19 April, 1953 'Demand Day' was observed with great enthusiasm in Punjab. Prabhat Pheris and meetings were held to reiterate the demand for full accession of the J & K state to India. Many satyagrahis courted arrest on that day and others were detained under Preventive Detention Act. All the eight Punjab News papers were banned in Jammu and Kashmir.

To enter Kashmir at that time one had to first apply for a permit and many a time it was refused even to the members of the Parliament and legislatives. The Jana Sangh accused
that the system of permit by the Government of India could be defended, from any standpoint. While this permit system was meant to prevent Pakistani agents from entering the State where the military had to play its part unhampered by the activities of spies and informers, it could be used in a discriminatory manner against certain sections of the Indian people simply because they had strong views on certain political or constitutional issues and were against the policies of Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah. The Jana Sangh held that Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of India and that the economic and social advancement of the state required that it accede to India in full. For this purpose it gave the slogan of "Jammu Chal o". At this call large batches of Satyagrahis from all districts of the Punjab began to move towards Pathankot on their way to Jammu. Many Jana Sangh leaders and Satyagrahis were detained under the Preventive Detention Act. The Jana Sangh object of Satyagraha was to focus public attention on public grievances and to strengthen public opinion to a point where the Government could not defy the public will.

The Punjab Jana Sangh from the very day of its inception vehemently opposed Article 370 of the Indian Constitution which guaranteed a separate status to Jammu & Kashmir state as it was in favour of its complete, final and irrevocable integration with the Indian Union like any other state. (Faced with an imminent threat to the very existence and security of the state Article 370 was implemented in Jammu & Kashmir State in 1950).
To agitate against this Article, the Jana Sangh organised prabhat-pheris, rallies, corner meetings, passed a number of resolutions and submitted many memoranda to the Government against its Kashmir policy. It demanded that the Government of India should press Pakistan to vacate illegally occupied areas of the state known as 'Azad Kashmir'. It called upon the Government of India to further strengthen the country's defence, especially on the borders of Jammu and Kashmir, in face of war preparations in Pakistan. The General Council of the Pradesh Jana Sangh passed a resolution to complete the integration process of the state, with the rest of the country. It suggested that Article 370 of the constitution be abrogated so that the people of Jammu and Kashmir could be brought at par with the other citizens of India.

It was as a result of the Jana Sangh movements and agitations in which the Punjab Jana Sangh played a leading role that the hated permit system was abolished. Thus a major irritant came to an end. The Jana Sangh volunteers appeared jubilant at their success.

Goa Satyagraha 1954

The Punjab Jana Sangh also extended support to the agitation launched by the Azad Gomantak Dal for the liberation of Goa. The Punjab Jana Sangh vigorously pleaded that the liberation of Goa was essential for the security and integrity
of the country. Satyagraha was started in the form of demonstrations, dharnas and passing of resolutions. The Punjab Jana Sangh Working Committee set up a three man committee consisting of Lal Chand Sabherwal, (Jalandhar), Balram Ji Das Tandon (Amritsar) and Krishan Gopal (Karnal) on May 8, 1954 to enroll volunteers for Satyagraha in Goa. The committee held that "Had the Government of India seriously asked Portugal to quit at that time when the British in their superior wisdom were leaving our shores with grace, the Portugese might have thought discretion the better part of valour and withdrawn by this time." A large number of the Punjab Jana Sangh workers in Jathas (batches) reached Belgaum on August 15, 1955, to participate in the Goa liberation struggle in which while crossing the Goa border 21 satyagrahis were shot dead. The evening of August 16 saw unprecedented scenes all over the Punjab. Masses of men gathered in every town and city to mourn the death of Satyagrahis and urged the Government to take effective action against the Portugese.

Chinese Aggression 1959 and 1962

The Chinese occupation of Indian territory on August 25, 1959, and aggression in October 20, 1962 provoked very strong protests from the Jana Sangh. The Punjab Jana Sangh expressed its deep concern and indignation at the continued occupation of Indian territory by China, the Government's failure to secure vacuation of aggression, and above all its inability to comprehend
the real nature of the Chinese peril. The Punjab State Jana Sangh executive committee met in Ambala on September 15, 1959, offered its full co-operation to the Government in its efforts to meet the Chinese threat. It called upon the Government to ban the C.P.I., dismiss Krishna Menon, the then Defence Minister, represent Tibet's cause in U.N. and give military training to youth in the border areas. It was of the definite opinion that China by forcibly occupying Indian territory and repudiating the Mac-Mohan had committed aggression. Therefore it demanded that China should be asked to vacate all the occupied territories by a fixed date, and in case of failure all steps should be taken to liberate the occupied Bharatiya territories. In 1960 it observed the week from April 10 to 17 as "No surrender week" to arouse and mobilize public opinion against any possible let down of India's interests at the forthcoming Nehru-Chou Enlai talks on April 19.

In a resolution in November 1962, the Punjab Jana Sangh demanded procurement of military help from friendly countries; vehemently criticised the communist party of India for not condemning the Chinese aggression. It insisted that the Indian Government must recognise the sovereignty of Tibet and the Dalai Lama's emigre Government. It observed November 14 as 'Pledge Day' "to affirm the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressors." At the rallies held on this day the Lok Sabha resolution of November 1962 was read out, with the entire audience solemnly standing to reaffirm the nation's resolve.
It continued to demand back the occupied territory from China in its various resolutions passed from time to time.

**Pakistani Aggression:**

The Kutch agreement, Pakistan aggression, Tashkent Declaration and Simla Pact were other issues which stirred the Punjab Pradesh Jana Sangh to mobilise public opinion against the government. It organised several protest meetings and rallies and passed many resolutions. It held that the Government had transferred 25,000 acres of fertile and valuable Indian territory to Pakistan in its wild goose chase for its goodwill. Mass rallies, demonstrations and processions were organized in all parts of the Punjab province on July 4, 1965 to voice the people's opposition to the Indo-Pak agreement on Kutch. It observed the day as "Anti-Kutch Agreement Day". Huge public meetings were held at Jalandhar and Ludhiana where they burnt the copies of the agreement. It adopted a resolution which described the agreement as "humiliating". On August 16, 1965, a surging mass of the Jana Sangh demonstrators in white clothes with saffron caps and saffron flags, gathered in front of Parliament House to protest against the Kutch Pact. They carried placards urging revocation of the Kutch agreement and demanding besides an overhaul of the Government's defence policies. "India must have an A. Bomb", "Shastri, you cannot beg peace, you have to win it."

The slogans chanted were "Ran se bhagi Jo Sarkar - Nahin hamen uski darkar". (We do not want a Government which has fled from the battlefield) "Kutch kararv toddo, varna gaddi chod do" (Either rescind the kutch agreement or resign) The memorandum was
Meanwhile Pakistan attacked India in 1965 and the Jana Sangh abandoned its anti-agitational approach towards the Government and fully sided with it in this hour of crisis. It held Suraksha Sammelans (Defence rallies) It organized four canteens at Amritsar (on the border within shelling range of the enemy) where Jawans used to take their meals. When the Government authorities wanted clothes for a large number of injured soldiers, the Jana Sangh workers collected them in just 4 hours and handed them over to the military authorities.

The Punjab Jana Sangh assailed the Tashkent declaration of 1966 as a document "deterimental to national interests and derogatory to national honour," and called upon the nation to oppose it. It was not happy at the Tashkent agreement because Pakistan had not admitted Indian suzerainty over J&K nor was it prepared to sign a no-war pact. The Party demonstrated before the Parliament on February 15, 1966 against the Tashkent agreement where it burnt copies of this agreement.

In December 1971 Pakistan again attacked India. The Jana Sangh stood whole heartedly with the Government. But the Jana Sangh workers demonstrated with black flags before the Prime minister when she reached Delhi after signing the Simla agreement in 1972. Its leaders warned that the people would neither tolerate re-opening of the Kashmir question nor the bartering away of the one third of the area of the state to
Pakistan. The Party held that at Simla the Prime Minister had returned the occupied parts of Pakistan but failed to recover the territory of India occupied by Pakistan. It formed a five party Simla Samjhauta Virodhi Samiti to launch a joint campaign against the Simla agreement. It continued to protest against these issues from time to time in the form of passing resolutions and organising demonstrations. In reality it was the Jana Sangh's repeated criticism which compelled the Government to strengthened its defence preparednesses. The Party was in favour of strict policy of reciprocity towards Pak and China.

Co-operative Farming

The Punjab Jana Sangh vehemently opposed the measure of co-operative farming and it adopted various methods and techniques to raise public opinion against it, as it (the Jana Sangh) held that this measure would not only reduce the peasant to a helpless serf, but also for its adverse effect on intensive farming, which alone could solve the problems of the country. It organized a mass conduct programme from November 22, 1959 to December 15, 1959 on the issue of co-operative farming.

Rising Prices

The Punjab Jana Sangh launched several protest movements and agitations on issues which affected the economic life of the people such as rise in prices of essential commodities mounting unemployment and incidence of higher taxation on the people.
The pattern of the movement included bandhs, strikes, dharnas, defiance of prohibitory orders under section 144, indefinite fasts by individual and groups. Many leaders and workers of the Jana Sangh were arrested and detained during these movements. In April 1952, there was a dizzy spurt in the prices of essential commodities. This rise of prices hit the poor people to a great extent. The Punjab Jana Sangh held that "the greatest part of the poor man's earnings goes in obtaining food for him and this rise in the prices of food stuff will increase his difficulties to a great extent." The Jana Sangh protested against rise in prices by organizing prabhat pheris, processions, corner meetings and public meetings. The Jana Sangh Working Committee made the following points regarding the price policy: (a) Fair-price shops should be opened in different parts of the city, where quality wheat, rice and pulses, should be sold on fixed prices; (b) forward trading in pulses and cereals be permanently banned as it was the big stockists and speculators who manipulate their prices to suit their own ends; (c) Government must take effective steps against the hoarders."

In 1956, the Jana Sangh demanded abolition of sales tax "whose burden falls mostly on the poorest classes of society." This is the universal demand of the people that this retograde tax be abolished forthwith." The Punjab Jana Sangh started a statewide agitation from January 8, 1959 in the form of demonstrations, torch light
processions and public meetings against the soaring food prices in the State. Yagya Dutt Sharma, state Jana Sangh Secretary, led the first demonstration at Amritsar. The Jana Sangh organized public meetings at nearly 1200 places in the state before January 28, 1959 and presented memoranda to District Commissioners and other Government officials at different places demanding the opening of cheap grain depots in all towns with a population of over 3,000. It also demanded that people should be given wheat instead of Atta... and all Party food committee should be set up along with food stabilization Board at the State level and that every depot should have an advisory committee.59

The Working Committee of the Punjab Jana Sangh met in Panipat from 29th to 31st of January 1961 and expressed its strong disapproval of the taxation policies pursued by the Punjab Government in which Property tax had been enhanced by 50 per cent, stamp duties had been increased from 100 per cent to 433 per cent on urban transactions and from 100 per cent to 600 per cent on rural transactions. It made a "province-wide intensive" campaign to educate the public and mobilise its opinion against these enactments by holding public meetings, demonstrations and submitting memoranda to the authorities.60 The Punjab Pradesh Jana Sangh observed Sunday 19 March 1961, as "Anti Tax Day" throughout the state. Meetings and demonstrations were organised to mobilise popular opinion over this issue and memoranda were submitted to executive heads at various places demanding withdrawal of new taxes. All branches (units) of the Jana Sangh
staged demonstrations in front of Deputy Commissioner's residence submitted a memorandum. A demonstration was held at Amritsar. Baldev Prakash submitted memorandum to Deputy Commissioner on behalf of the people. On July 6, 1962, the Jana Sangh workers staged a demonstration at Railway stations throughout the Punjab to protest against the heavy incidence of taxes in the Budget and specially against the rise in passenger fare from July 1st. Memorandums were submitted at all the stations.

On 25 August 1966 massive demonstrations were staged in all districts to protest against rising prices and devaluation of the rupee. The Amritsar Jana Sangh organised a demonstration in a big way. The demonstration, led by Captain Keshabchandra, Baldev Prakash and Balramji Dass Tandon marched through the city shouting slogans and carrying placards against devaluation of the rupee, rising prices and gold control order. They raised slogans "Indira tere raj men, Janta bhookhi marti hai" (Indira, the people are starving under your rule) and "Indira tere shasan men, bhoosa milta ration men". (In your reign, O, Indira we get straw as ration). They marched to the residence of the Deputy Commissioner and handed over to him a memorandum listing their demands. Similar demonstrations were held at Jalandhar and Pathankot. At Pathankot – it was led by Amar Kaur (sister of Bhagat Singh renowned revolutionary).

There was a dizzy spurt in the prices of essential commodities during the financial year 1972-73, wholesale prices shot up by 15.1 per cent, double the increase in 1971-72, which
in turn was double that of the previous year. The worst suffers of this inflation were the weaker sections of society, small peasants, industrial workers and low-salaries middle class people. The General Council of the Prades Jana Sangh demanded immediate provision of essential commodities like rice, Atta, vanaspati, sugar and kerosene oil through fair price shops. It continued its struggle against price hike and unemployment intermittently in the following years. The Jana Sangh units in other states of the country spared no efforts to air the grievances of the people about the escalation in prices and to plead the cause of worst hit weaker sections of the society. The main motive behind this was that though it (price hike) was a world phenomena, special steps should be pressed into service to check adultration, blackmarketing and profiteerings. Simultaneously the agricultural and industrial production should be geared upto meet the situation. These activities of the Jana Sangh were able to get the sympathy of the people (weaker sections of the society) and made the Government think of doing something for the small fry. In consequence Ration Depots were opened.

**Cow Protection**

In the same way another all-India problem which the workers of the Punjab Jana Sangh shared was that of banning cow slaughter throughout India by an Act of the Parliament. Since there was no cow slaughter in Punjab, the workers of the Party stressed the opening Go—shalas for improving the breeds of the cows and sheltering dry and unwanted cows.
Public demonstrations and mass movements against the acts of omission and commission of the party in power are part and parcel of political life. The Jana Sangh in Punjab unlike the Akalis had to highlight issues both of local as well as national importance. The ire of the Jana Sangh was directed against language and Punjabi Suba which it thought gave covert separatist demands of the Akalis. It also raised a powerful voice with regard to Goa, Jammu & Kashmir, Pakistan and Chinese aggression. Rising prices, corruption and wasteful expenditure of the government were the other issues of public importance on which the Jana Sangh trained its guns. The above account shows that the Jana Sangh was never a drawing room party but came to the streets, the markets and the factories to enlighten the support of the common people by highlighting their economic problems.

Although in terms of the ballot-box the Jana Sangh in the Punjab was never a thumping success yet it had certainly carved an image of its own. It led many agitations and did succeed in focussing the attention of the people on certain very important political matters. But unfortunately it did not pay any attention to such glaring non-political evils as dowry, maltreatment of women, caste segregation, drinking etc. It was expected of the Jana Sangh leadership, which was highly educated and enlightened, to pay some attention to these social problems. However the Punjab Jana Sangh remained active only on the
political level and certain crying social evils were left untouched. Even in politics the Jana Sangh came to espouse the cause of only certain selected sections of the Punjabi society.
REFERENCES

1. Interview with Prof. Balraj Madhok.

2. Resolution passed by the Punjab Jana Sangh in 2nd Annual Session at Panipat on December 25, 26 and 27, 1954.

3. According to the Sachar Formula, the State was divided into two linguistic regions, Punjabi and Hindi. The language of the region was to be the medium of instruction in all the schools till matriculation stage, and the children were required to learn the other language at the secondary stage. The choice for the medium of instruction in educational institutions was left entirely to the parents or the guardians of the pupils.


5. The Police used tear gas and made inhuman lathi charges on the Hindi demonstrators as a result of which Sumer Singh died and Lal Chand Sabherwal M.L.A. (Jalandhar) Mangal Sain M.L.A. (Ambala), Satya Pal Mahajan (Pathankot), Sita Ram Ji (Patiala), Jagan Nath Ji (Patiala) and scores of others were seriously injured. In Ferozepur Jail, the police lathi charged on the prisoners of 'Save Hindi Satyagraha in which 309 undertrial received injuries.

6. The Times of India, November 9, 1960.

7. The Punjab is a uni-lingual state, that is, Punjabi speaking State, Hindi as the National language will take place of English and private schools would continue to teach Punjabi and Hindi and united Front Government would not interfere in the language system of these schools; nor would it discriminate in giving grants to these schools.

8. Before joining the Badal ministry the Jana Sangh got the assurance in 11 point programme that steps would be taken to develop and promote Punjabi as the State language and Hindi as the national language. The Tribune March 28, 1970.


10. Dr. Baldev Prakash, President of the Punjab Jana Sangh had declared in Pathankot on Sunday 29 June that his party would leave the Akali-Jana Sangh coalition ministry in the State unless aided schools were given the right to choose between Hindi and Punjabi as the medium of instructions.


17. Ibid. Page (13-14).

18. S.R.C. Report on page 540 recorded, "The first essential object of any scheme of reorganization must be the unity and security of India." The Commission further argued—"basically the demand is a communal one. Cultural and linguistic arguments have been pressed into service to camouflage the real motive". It was of the definite opinion that "the creation of a Punjabi speaking State would offer no solution to the language problem."

19. Gyani Kartar Singh said that out of the 14 recognised languages in the Indian Constitution, 13 States had been formed. Because Sikh loyalty was suspected Punjabi Suba was not created.


22. Organizer, April 9, 1956. Regional Formula divided the Punjab State on linguistic basis, with a view to safeguard the interests of the two language groups. To ensure, however, administrative unity of the State, it provided for one legislature, one Governor and one council of ministers for the whole of the recognised State of the Punjab.

23. Organizer, April 30, 1956.


25. The Police lathi charged the demonstrators and consequently many demonstrators were injured. Processions and hartals took place all over the Punjab. At the persistent refusal of the Chief Minister to hold a judicial enquiry into the Hoshiarpur incident Y.D. Sharma started a fast unto death on June 7, 1956 and broke it on July 12 when his demand for holding an enquiry was conceded.
27. Ibid. December 9, 1957.
31. In 1961 the Yogi Raj had undertaken a fast unto death to nullify Master Tara Singh's fast for achievement of Punjabi Suba.
35. The "assurances" were that the division would be strictly linguistic "without any communal or religious factors being allowed to come into consideration, "some common links would be retained between Punjab and Haryana and the rights of the minorities linguistic or otherwise" would be safeguarded.
40. Ibid. February 2, 1970.
41. The Tribune February 2, 1970.
42. The Clarion Call was given by the President of Praja Parishad Pt. Prem Nath Dogra that there could not be two constitutions, two flags and two Presidents in the same country.
43. At Pathankot Jiva Ram President —Jagraon Jana Sangh was beaten black and blue by the police. In Amritsar peaceful Satyagrahis had been forcibly seized by their hair and ruthlessly dragged to the police station. They were not even given water to drink.
44. Organizer, Delhi, May 18, 1953.
46. Goa has a good and well defended natural harbour. Dr. Salazar was dictator of Portugal at that time. He ordered many atrocities on the Goa people. Tulsi plants were uprooted and Hindu names of roads and places were substituted by Perangi names. Satyagrahis were mercilessly beaten. There have been instances of such severe beatings that the skin was actually flayed.
47. Sardar Karnail Singh of Basic School Jagraon, died upholding the national flag on Bandra Border (Goa).
50. Organizer, October 14, 1963.
53. Interview with Prof. Balraj Madhok.
54. It was not happy because Pakistan had not signed the agreement.
55. Statesman, Delhi, February 16, 1966.
56. Organizer, July 29, 1972. It was of the firm opinion that Pak remained the enemy No. 1 from the days of its inception and we should follow a policy of strict reciprocity towards Pakistan not of appeasement.
57. Resolution passed by the Jana Sangh Working Committee in April 21, 1952.
58. Organizer, November 19, 1956.
59. Interview with Shri Yagya Datt Sharma.
60. Organizer, February 13, 1961.