CHAPTER-IV

POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES OF BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY
The distinctive features of a political party are manifested in its organisational structure, its style of functioning, the degree of idealism in its workers and overall ideology. In fact, a political party shall continue to have its own identity, so long as it is able to project its own ideology. The statement that BJP is a party with difference means that the party along with other things possesses an ideology which is not fully shared by others.\(^1\)

It is a cohesive and disciplined party.\(^2\)

When the BJP was formed, it had resolved to fulfill a national historic role with a full sense of responsibility and urgency, it had given a call to its workers to rededicate themselves for creating a national alternative to meet the crisis of Indian Society. Despite the massive majority of ruling party at the parliament, the crisis was deepening everyday and the situation continues to prevail. These crisis are not the creation of Janata Party or of its government alone but have been building up rapidly over the last one decade of Congress rule. The Congress (I) pushed the country towards polarisation and total conflict. Once BJP believes that both consensus and conflict are inescapable aspects of development. The party would attempt to create consensus on all major national issues and would compete with others where conflict arises.\(^3\)
Policies and programme of a political party which is related to its ideologies are very important. BJP has its own characteristic programmes and policies. It is on these factors that a political party is made from and their organisation and conduct are assumed.\(^4\)

It is through these instruments that a political party earns confidence and its national goal is achieved.

Bharatiya Janata Party upholds five fold concepts viz - 'Shuchita' (Probity in Public life) 'Suraksha' (Security) 'Swadeshi' (Economic nationalism) 'Samajik Samarasatan' (Social harmony) and 'Hindutva' (Cultural nationalism)\(^5\) certain points have been replaced or variously stated at different places. Illustratively in one of its National executive meeting stated the following point as its basic plank viz -

(1) Cultural nationalism
(2) Economic Sovereignty
(3) National Security
(4) Democracy
(5) Social Harmony
(6) Value - based politics

Similarly in another resolution it stated 'Suchita', 'Swadesi', 'Samasta' and 'Suraksha' in order to secure mandate from the electorate.

Originally the five commitment included

(1) National integration and Nationalism
(2) Democracy
Besides, the decentralisation of economic and political power in the sixties as Jana Sangh, this party had claimed that it would be guided by the philosophy evolved by Deendayal Upadhyaya which he called Integral Humanism.\(^5\)

In its concept of nationalism, the BJP upholds the same concept as the erstwhile Janasangh. Its Election Manifesto yet seeks to preserve Indian culture and heritage, ban on cow slaughter, complete integration of Jammu and Kashmir, have common civil code, go nuclear, pursue genuine non aligned foreign policy and so on. National integration for BJP is not a slogan but a matter of deep commitment. The party always strove for national interest even at the cost of electoral prospect.\(^6\) The BJP as the party of nationalism, holism and Integral Humanism, offers a complete alternative to the current dismal scene. As the party of ‘Swadeshi’ and ‘Swadharma’ it is wedded to “one country, one people and one culture.”\(^7\)

The second approach of BJP has been the commitment of Democracy. The subversion of the democratic institutions in this country has been going on for a long time. It will be the earnest endeavour of the BJP to defend democratic institutions and norms and fight ceaselessly against emerging facist trends. For the defence of democracy and fundamental rights, BJP would co-operate with other democratic parties; the party document released.\(^8\)
Thirdly, BJP is committed to positive or genuine secularism as distinguished from pseudo secularism which amounts to appeasement with a view to mere vote catching at the cost of national integration. The party is in favour of abolition of ‘minority commission’ because it is averse to the rise of the very term Minority. Therefore, it demands the minority commission should be replaced by 'human right commission'. It strongly demands uniform civil code. The party slogan is always ‘justice for all and appeasement to none’.

Again, BJP is firmly committed to the doctrine of secular state. A secular state is not an irreligious or anti-religious state. Secularism has three essential ingredients. Firstly, rejection of theocracy, secondly a guarantee of equality and thirdly full freedom of faith and conscience which the BJP is determined to uphold.

In the seventies it adopted Gandhian socialism. But after having suffered unusual reverse in the parliamentary election 1984, the party executive returned back to Deendayal concept of Integral Humanism, perhaps to reassure that it had not changed. The new stance was also meant to solve the problem of identity crisis. The ideology of the BJP would be broadly speaking that of Gandhian socialism - Bread, Freedom and Employment. Gandhian socialism aims at ultimately replacing both capitalism and statism by the principle of a co-operative system and trusteeship in all fields of economic activity.
Concentration of economic power either in the hand of the state or individual has its own danger and leads to corruption of power. Gandhian socialism is not a mere set of objectives trends. It also demands reliance on right means. The Gandhian practice tries to solve every problem through non-violent means. The central point of Gandhian socialism is that there should be no property or exploitation of man by man. More positively, it means that social and political life should be guided by a set of norms and values, the abridgement of which should bring forth social sanction and punishment. BJP will strive to build up such a value based politics and thus seek to cleanse the filth abounding in Public life today. In other words, the BJP desires to pursue the course of a welfare state. Its programmes pay stress on the need for land reforms and restructuring of the agrarian system, eradication of poverty by ‘Antyodaya’ Schemes,” food for work, adult education drinking water for rural areas, low cost housing, nutrition and primary health care, family planning, vocation oriented education, women welfare, introduction of employment guarantee schemes for youth, nationalization of major industries, growth of public sector etc.

As the erstwhile Janasangh, in the spheres of foreign policy, the BJP favour the path of genuine non-alignment and an independent of foreign policy, aiming at preserving world peace and promoting enlightened self interest of the nation. It also has a policy that India should be capable of all kinds of nuclear weapons.
'Bharatiya Janata Party' says Kedarnath Sahani is a 'Nation - first party' with having its separate identity. Our party believes that many socio political and economic ills could be removed by inculcating the feeling of Indianess and by strengthening the spirit of patriotism in the people.\textsuperscript{18} That is why the BJP is always the first to raise all such issue which effect the unity, integrity and security of the nation. Whether it is the question of Punjab, Kashmir, Gorkhaland, Assam and Pakistan, BJP has been always the first to highlight these issues and warn the country against rising dangers. The Indian people are rightly convinced that BJP alone serve the watch dog for maintaining the integrity and unity of the country.\textsuperscript{19} In a Presidential Address L.K.Advani says, "The BJP holds that India from Kashmir to Kanyakumari is one country and that all Indians irrespective of creed, caste and language are one people".\textsuperscript{20}

BJP always stands for repeal of Article 370 of the constitution, which separates Kashmir from the rest of India and has sown the poisonous seeds of separation. Our political rivals want to retain a sub nation identity for Kashmir in India.

BJP wants to enact a 'Uniform Civil Code' applicable to all citizens but the opponents want personal laws to apply to certain communities even though the same may be repressive and violative of human rights.

BJP wants to create a human rights commission but the opponents wish to set up merely minority commission. To BJP the minorities are not merely created for vote but they are citizens of India with equal rights not more not less.
BJP is opposed to attacks on India’s national identity be it in Kashmir, Punjab and Ayodhya.

It opposed to the proposal of pseudo secular parties to reserve job on the basis of religion.

It believes that unity of his country can be maintained not by policies of appeasement but by strengthening Indian nationalism with its affinity to India’s cultural heritage. If cultural heritage is destroyed, no police, no army, no government can maintain the unity.

It focus on an individual in its economic planning and ensure growth, increased employment, prosperity and equality. 
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2. Answer to the Questionnaires from Late - Satish Ch. Agrawal M.P., Rajya Sabha.
3. Ibid., no.1.
12. Ibid., P.44.
13. Ibid., no.8. PP. 3-6.
16. Ibid., no.10.
19. Ibid., no.10.
The Bharatiya Janata Party’s vision of India’s economic progress has been spelt out in the Economic Policy statements (EPS) of 1980 and 1986 as well as Election Manifesto of 1991, 1996 and 1998. The approach of the BJP combines continuity with change. A few of the suggestions made by the BJP have been adopted by the government but many suggestions despite their importance remain unimplemented. The implementation in a fragmented manner and without adequate prior thinking of the likely consequences has led to adhocism and distortations. The government has all along followed the turn of events without any attempt to mould them and anticipate them. There is a need for fresh look in the changing national and international context for more realistic appreciation of immediate problems and long term implications. It is this continuity with recognition of change that lend freshness, realism and vitality to the vision that the BJP has of a prosperous, progressive and egalitarian, enlightened, confident and participate democracy capable of holding its own in the flux of times.

The BJP believes in a new social and economic order which is non-exploitative, co-operative, harmonious and which provides full play to individual initiative and dignity. The multifarious urges
and aspiration - spiritual, intellectual, economic and social of the citizens here to be reconciled and harmonised. This approach flows from the national heritage and from the concept of Mahatma Gandhi’s ‘RAMARAJYA’ and Pandit Deendayal Upadhaya’s ‘INTEGRAL HUMANISM’. The holistic, total, integral and comprehensive philosophy must suffice all of us in national effort for economic development, for which communism has collapsed. But the resurrection of unbridled capitalism will not provide the key to the solution of our myriad problems. It will only lead to consumerism and increasing debt burden fattering the generation to come. The spirit of Swadeshi and self reliance cannot be lost sight of. It is an integral part of our national history and heritage, though Swadeshi and self reliance being the principal element of our political and economic emancipation.4

The BJP appreciates selfless idealism and will continue to be alive to such a genuine national concern in its beliefs and operationalisation of its policies and programmes. Thus ‘Swadeshi’ becomes the fundamental value for the nation. Swadeshi should not be mis-interpreted as a static or backward looking isolationist concept. It is not isolated in approach and thinking of Gandhiji and Deendayalji which form the shining feature of the policy and programme of the BJP in the realm of national development for building of national economy on the self sustaining basis.5 Again the party emphasises the urgency to adopt measures to eradicate
menace of black money which is eating into the vitals of our economy.

According to its economic specialist Jagdish Shettigar in a statement published in Indian Express, “The concept of Gramodaya advocated by Gandhiji will be introduced wherever Bharatiya Janata Party comes to power”.

The Bharatiya Janata Party is of the view that it is possible to achieve economic growth with social justice, through the employment oriented model which could be called BJP model, with the spirit of self reliance and Swadeshi. But self reliance does not mean isolation. Self reliance also does not mean producing everything within the country regardless of cost, equality, efficiency or comparative advantage.

BJP’s basic economic and development approach seeks to further extend and develop the principle enunciated by Gandhiji and Deendayalji in the modern context. After the careful re-examination of the burning issues of national economic policy the party presents the following formulation and recommendation.

“In the opinion of the BJP, the prime trust of the India’s Economic programme should be to provide full employment and removal of poverty by strengthening the agro-rural base, and inculcate a spirit of ‘Swadeshi’.

‘Swadeshi’ otherwise means economic nationalism that has been the BJP’s economic philosophy and programme. ‘Swaraj’ and
'Swadeshi' are the two factors, which is adopted by BJP for national development. They are interlinked. If Swaraj is the government of the people, by the people, for the people, Swadeshi is economy of the people, by the people, for the people. Therefore, the BJP proclaims Swaraj of India through Swadeshi. The spiritual ancestors of the BJP School describe the terms following the relevance of integral humanism.

To Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Swadeshi signifies that people should have the confidence to build a modern and progressive India making the maximum use of resources that are available at the moment. It aims at achieving abundance and make India a global player. It endeavours to strengthen indigenous research. It ensures a reasonable standard of living for all. "India can do it and will do it".

There are four essential principles which condition in the BJP's economic thinking:-

(1) Self reliance -The party's economic policy would be strongly nationalistic in approach and content. It believes that the interest of multi nationals - maximisation of profits is in conflict with our national interests - maximisation of jobs and welfare. The party, therefore would like to keep multi-nationals at bay, at least, out of the field of consumer industries. The party regards self-reliance as an over-siding component in our external economic relations, including the import of technology and capital.
(2) Decentralisation - The party stands for political as well as economic democracy, so that, the benefit of economic development go to the smallest man. The party believes that for the decentralisation of economic power presently concentrated in the hands of the state or of big business is necessary. Primary for agriculture, Swadeshi and importance to the small scale sector in industry are commitments that flow from this.

(3) Modernisation - BJP will harness new technologies to the changing requirements of the country, and build the nation as a modern and progressive nation. But it will not allow technology to degrade man as just another input in gross national product. Man will be the main focus of India’s developmental policies.

(4) Daridra Narayan - Consistent with the above three elements, the party will aim at securing to every Indian citizen, minimum conditions of material welfare in terms of food, raiment, shelter, health and education.¹³

Therefore Swadeshi tries to create an atmosphere of self-reliance. In this way foreign investment is being attracted in discriminately in the name of liberalisation. But while liberalisation is acceptable, globalisation cannot be.¹⁴ The BJP supports the liberalisation process persuaded by Narashinha Rao government in 1991, which was its (BJP’s) old stand in order to get rid of license permit quota, but certainly critical on open window policy towards foreign investors. Even the spokesman of Congress Economic cell
conceded. The BJP’s economic agenda is no different from that of today’s congress. But people perceive no place for pride in Indian, no room for economic nationalism and no assertion of Indianness. To that extent, the BJP is able to evoke a sympathetic chord amongst a growing section genuinely apprehensive about the way globalisation is being pursued by the congress”.

Globalisation, which is in essence marketisation at the global levels, ignores the fundamental differentials of India as a civilisation, society and economy. It has created and sustained the myth that Indian development can be engineered wholly, and only, through foreign trade and foreign investments, thus undermining and even recycling, all talk of national efforts as the core issue which can only be supplemented by foreign trade and foreign investments. It thus undermines the country’s faith in itself. To BJP’s understanding the MNC have pretend the art of minimum production and Maximum profit. So, BJP warned that the Multi National Companies do not swamp our economy and are kept under control.

The main elements of economic policy of the Bharatiya Janata Party are - Rapid development through full employment with the use of changing and growing technology on par with international levels, self reliance to the maximum but not self sufficiency at any cost, optimum use of national resources, materials and manpower, with due allowance for foreign capital in high-technical industries. Stimulating an investment environment in which every enterprise,
private and public can thrive and where efficiency and productivity will be rewarded and special attention to the lagging sectors like agriculture, cottage and small industries and weaker section of society including women, scheduled castes and tribes, backward classes and regions etc., in order to enable them play their full part in national development.¹⁹

In the BJP model of economic development ‘Antyodaya’ shall be the guiding star and abiding national commitment. Economic development would not only be people oriented, but also keep the environment pollution free and maintain the ecological balance. Again afore BJP, the economic system should call for equal sacrifice from all sections of people and aim at accelerated growth and development, particularly of weaker section of the society such as women, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes and areas which are at present lagging behind, to eliminate imbalances. The development process should give highest priority to development of rural areas and seek to reduce the present gap in rural and urban areas. It is only by such a balanced and harmonious growth that a vision of new India could be built, a non-exploitative social order noted in norms and values, aiming at destructive justice, with improvement in quality of life even for the most disadvantaged in society, that is ‘Antyodaya’.²⁰

Once L.K. Advani said, “There are two aspects of leftism. One is elevating the down trodden to provide economic and other is state
ownership of means of production and distribution. From the former
dpoint of view, BJP is leftist but not from the later point of view".21

The party in its election manifesto of 1991 wants to abridge the
gap between rich and the poor. In this context it views to implement
‘Antyodaya’.22

The BJP’s economic resolution in Pune focussed on industry,
agriculture and savings. At the Mumbai Plenary Session the party
decided that it favoured the internal liberalisation but not
participation of foreign firms in Indian industry. This in nut-shell
is the BJP grant of economic nationalism.23

The BJP is open to foreign investment in the core technology
and capital intensive sectors. Again, it takes keen interest in
agriculture and agrarian development. The party claimed in the year
1995, the Rao government’s spending in his field has dropped from
19 percent gross domestic product (GDP) to 11 percent in the last
10 years.24 With this kind of vision BJP was out and out opposed
to Dunkel Draft and Uruguay round.25 which is replaced by World
Trade Organisation (WTO). The National Council of the party
rejected the GATT treaty in its totality.26

Little ideological reference is imperative at this stage. True to
the philosophy of intergral Humanism, the BJP is appealed to both
nationalism and capitalism.27 What the nation needs is a practical
approach that is devoid of dogma and is guided wholly by
considerations of national interest and that is appropriate to India
and on this basis the election Manifesto of 1998 wants to make India
a global economic power.28
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KASHMIR ISSUE

Four decades back some elements in Jammu and Kashmir state, with the backing of some Western powers had hatched a conspiracy to make the state secede from India under the leadership of Pandit Prem Nath Dogra. The Praja Parishad initiated great struggle against these elements. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, founder and President of Bharatiya Jana Sangh gave this struggle a national dimension, made alert the entire country to this conspiracy and launched a powerful movement for the fuller integration of the state that had to pay a very heavy price that was on 23rd June, 1953. Dr. Mukherjee Passed away in Jail under very mysterious circumstances.

India and Pakistan have taken hard-line stand on Kashmir issue. India has reiterated its claim that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of it. Pakistan says it is a disputed area whose future is still to be determined under the UN resolution. The Pakistani connection is always there from 1947 and has waxed and warned and is not decisive factor today.

For the past few years the state has been witnessing terrorist violence, planned and promoted by Pakistan and its agencies like ISI. The government has failed miserably to deal with the problem. As a result over 3,00,000 Kashmiri Pandits belonging to the valley have been forced to foresake their hearths and homes and become refugees in their own country.
The lack of proper perspective on Kashmir by Congress government right from Nehruvian era is responsible for creating the situation. All political parties, barring the BJP, turned a blind eye to the problem and left the dispossessed to languish in refugee camps. None of the four prime Minister, from Rajiv Gandhi to P.V. Narasinha Rao ever visited the refugee camp at Jammu. For all these governments, the problem of Kashmir migrants just did not exist; the only reason for their callous indifference has been that these helpless victims of Pakistan sponsored terrorism are all Hindus.

Hindus have suffered a lot in Jammu and Kashmir. An analysis says that in 1947 the population of the Hindus in the valley was 15 percent, it came down to 5 percent in 1981 and was reduced further to 0.1 percent in 1991. Recently selective killings are taking place in Doda, Poonch and Rajuri. Again the bomb blasts on the Republic day of January at Chirrar-e-Sharif in the valley and the fact that in the month of January, 1995 alone the Militants had launched over 150 strikes on the security forces. It betrays the governments wilful lack of appreciation of the situation on the ground. Looking to all the conflicting situation of Jammu and Kashmir, BJP cannot close its eye to the burning problem of discrimination against the state. Article 370 admittedly was historical blunder. It was acted as a big psychological barrier apart from creating vested interest who flourished economically and politically. Again it provided an effective protective cover on the misdeeds of anti-national elements as well as on the masterly
inactivity of the government of India since Nehru’s time. The BJP is convinced that the precondition of the solution of the Kashmir problem is to repeal Article 370. As early as 1960, Vajpayee expressed apprehension in Lok Sabha that article 370 might spell the factor of three nation theory. He also noticed 20,000 refugees in Jammu and Kashmir since 1947 and demanded the withdrawal of Kashmir matter from United Nation.

The BJP considers its abandon duty to remind our country men once again that the Nation faces a very grave peril in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In this context looking to the spreading problem in Kashmir where Hindus have been turned into refugee, former party president Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi launched an ‘Ekta Yatra’ (Integration March) which was started from 11th December, 1991 to 26th January, 1992. It was a march from Kanyakumari to Kashmir. Party General Secretary Govindacharya said, “This march will give an effective political dimension to the basic ideological perspective of the party by emphasising the Kashmir problem.” It was reported that two and half lakhs Hindu have left the state and taken refugee in the neighbouring area. Common people are not maintaining their life under the threat of boynet of Militants. Dr. Joshi unfurled the national flag at the Lal Chowk (Red Square) of Srinagar on Republic day of 1992.

The party is also gravely concerned with fissiparous tendency in work in North East State particularly vitiated by the Christian Missionaries and their convert.
So far as the Doda problem is concerned - The Pak designed and fully aided insurgency in Kashmir is not only sustaining but also it has taken deep roots in Doda district and other adjoining areas of Jammu region. This is because no policy of the Government of India to deal with this proxy war being launched by Pakistan and dubious role being played by the leader of congress (I) and their associates in the erstwhile ruling party of the state.\(^\text{15}\)

So far over 15,000 persons have been killed, over 5000 injured about 4 lakhs rendered homeless to live as migrants, the property worth about 1000 crores have been set ablaze which include 5691 private houses, 1893 shops, 553 schools and 2167 Government buildings and 386 bridges. Apart from this there is immense loss of hundred of crores to the trade and business. Militants have looted more than 3 crores from different banks, and timber worth 300 crores burnt in different depots.\(^\text{16}\)

Looking to the situation, the Bharatiya Janata Party who launched Satyagraha from 23rd June to 6th July, 1994 demanded that -

The Doda district be declared a disturbed Area and entrusted to the Army.

That Ex-Servicemen in the Jammu Region be provided with Arms so that they can assist the security forces in combating militancy in the area.

That Migrant from the Kashmir Valley be enabled to return to their homes and live there with security and respect.
That Article 370 be repealed.

That the unanimous resolution adopted by parliament in respect of Jammu and Kashmir be earnestly implemented.\(^{17}\)

The BJP is of the opinion that any talk about restoration of political process or holding negotiations with the terrorists is ill conceived. The elimination of terrorism and militancy ought to be the condition precedent before any political process can be initiated\(^{18}\)

The BJP shall always strive to maintain the integrity and unity of the country. With the co-operation and support of the people, the BJP will relentlessly struggle so as to compel the government, to act in a way as to ensure security, justice and dignity to the people in Jammu and Kashmir State.

In as much as the resolution passed by both the houses of parliament represent the collective will of the nation in respect of Jammu and Kashmir that is the inalienable part of India. The BJP also called upon the government to take all necessary steps without any hesitation and reservation.\(^{19}\)

BJP favours formal resolve

On 11th February, 1994 The Bharatiya Janata Party proposed that a formal resolution on Kashmir should be adopted by the parliament in the next budget session and reaffirm, among other things, India’s resolve that it would never accept any attempt to sever it from the rest of the country\(^{20}\)
The resolution, making it abundantly clear that Jammu and Kashmir is Indian territory and India would defend it to the best of the capacities, should also state unanimously that "all countries should refrain from meddling in Jammu and Kashmir either directly or indirectly".21

The BJP External Affairs cell wanted the government to follow firm, clear and consistent policy on Kashmir. There must be no effort to talk with the Militant until they lay down their arms and agree to negotiate within the frame work of the constitution of India.22

Externally, the BJP noted, the Message must go out to Pakistan and all those helping that country's attempts to internationalise the Kashmir question that India would never give up its sovereign legitimate rights in Jammu and Kashmir.23

After the passing of various resolutions when the central government decided for holding free and fair election in Jammu and Kashmir states than Krishna Lal Sharma M.P., General Secretary of Bharatiya Janata Party of India is indulging in futile exercises on the issue of election in Jammu and Kashmir without either restoring normalcy in the state or coming out with a convincing plan to ensure free and fair election. Even otherwise when the Prime Minister P.V.Narasimha Rao has come to the conclusion that the Home Ministry has proved failure to deal with the situation of Jammu and Kashmir and decided the state of Jammu and Kashmir affairs be dealt with directly by Prime Minister office since November 1994.24
The great dangerous reign of terror in Kashmir valley was Charar-e-Sharif, a reign of terror in Kashmir valley, most untoward incidents in Kishtwar and other parts of Doda district and frequent happenings of bomb blasts in Jammu town clearly indicate that the situation has reached a flash point. Only a strong action can restore the shaken confidence of the people and ensure a conducive atmosphere for elections. The Government of India must rise to the occasion to face the realities on the ground rather than shirk its responsibility. "We cannot afford to have a farce in the name of elections in the sensitive state of Jammu and Kashmir whether it is under pressure, internal or external or whether it is out of some political expediency." "We must make it clear that we shall hold a free and fair elections in Jammu and Kashmir after restoring convincing normalcy."

After the decision of the Government for holding assembly election in Jammu and Kashmir in the month of September, a press statement issued by Shri Krishna Lal Sharma, MP and Vice-President of the BJP read "The incidents of killings, kidnapping and migration in the area of Kashmir valley and in Doda district of Jammu region after the Lok Sabha elections, have once again shaken the confidence of the people. More than three thousand families were forced to migrate from interior of Doda district, do not feel like going back to their respective places, the entire purpose of resuming a democratic process in the state will stand defeated. The serious set back in the valley has suffered after the kidnapping of six tourists in Kashmir valley."
The BJP asks, "to persuade Pakistan to abandon its present policy of hostile interference in India's internal affairs by supporting insurgent and terrorist groups. The BJP affirms renequivocally India's sovereignty over the whole of Jammu and Kashmir including the area under foreign occupation".  

The overall fall out of insurgency in the Kashmir valley is influx of 30,000 people, including 50,000 Kashmiri Pandit to the Jammu region and elsewhere. The BJP has prepared a country wide plan for the refugee rehabilitation and temporary care at the present station.  

L.K.Advani has repeatedly warned that continuance of Article 370 would supply a troops to Pakistan that Kashmir issue is yet it unsolved. On the other hand it is psychological barrier between people of Jammu and Kashmir and rest of the country.  

The party leadership has ventured to have a nation wide referendum on the question of Article 370. To the party, Kashmir issue is not merely a regional problem but a matter of national importance which threatens the care of India's integrity and sovereignty. It seems from the BJP's perception of one people, one nation.
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7. *BJP on Kashmir*, P.VI (Preface)
9. *BJP on Kashmir*, P.IX (Preface)
18. *Ibid*.


24. Free and Fair Election is not possible in Jammu and Kashmir State
Statement issued by Krishna Lal Sharma, MP and General Secretary of


INTERNAL SECURITY

The Bharatiya Janata Party, as the party of nationalism, has been very much concerned with internal security, territorial integrity and national security. With regard to internal security - may it be Kashmir, Punjab, North-East, LTTE, ISI or any such fissiparous tendency. Certain case may be dealt here as a matter of illustration.

It was way back in 1957 that Atal Bihari Vajpayee raised the first ever voice of protest in parliament against the incessant flow of illegal infiltration from across the international borders into Assam and had even subsequently evoked his famous 7-point formula for the solution of the vexed problem. He repeated it in 1961 as well. The party has never deviated from its stand on the issue, rather over the years, it stand has become more specific.1 The 1st national council session of BJP dealt on the matter and warned the government of its communal approach and make the fissiparous demand.2

The decline in the Hindu population in Bangladesh has been quite precipitation. The table that follows is quite revealing.3
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage of Hindu Population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>22.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>18.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>13.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>12.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>10.5</td>
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</table>

Contrary to this figure, the Muslim population in India is as below.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage of Muslim Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>11.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>12.12</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Bangladeshi influx also awakened the demography of West Bengal as reported by successive census reports. The decades Muslim population increase is 36 percent to 38 percent in West Bengal, whereas for Hindus it is only 22 to 23 percent. It was the BJP which raised the issue in Calcutta in its first conference held on 22-23rd August, 1980.

In Assam, the movement became more bitter and bitter by All Assam Students Union (AASU) along with All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGP). But BJP gave the movement a national issue. The AASU and AAGP boycotted the Assembly election in 1983, which was supported by BJP.
Speaking to the occasion of Motion of thanks to the President of Lok Sabha on 2nd March 1983, Vajpayee reiterated his earlier concern for the Assam population and said, “The vote politics come in the way and the matter concerning the security and integrity of the country held up”. In reference to the so-called regionalism cropped up in the Assam movement he clarified, it was not effected only to Indian nationalism. They were using both the expressions - “Assam Mata as well as Bharat Mata” at the same time.

In view of the grave situation there, the BJP National Executive, February, 1983 demanded for one year more presidential rule by the constitution and called for communal and social disharmony there. Vajpayee also raised the issue in Lok Sabha on 21st February, 1983.

Next year the National Executive at Indore expressed its deep anxiety at the “continuing state of instability which persist in the strategically important state of Assam”. It held that if the basic problems in Assam is uncontrolled, illegal immigration and continued non-detection of infiltraters would be caused not only to that sensitive region but to the whole country.

In the presidential remark L.K. Advani in the general session of the party in New Delhi on 9th May, 1986 raised the same issue and suggested to seal the border.

The National council at Vijayawada in 1987 took stock of the situation that each year around 5,50,000 Bangladeshi immigrant and the so called tourist entered India but hardly returned. “It has expanded to West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan and Gujrat are effected by Pakistan. There has
also been influx in Sikkim, Tripura and Delhi. In Delhi it is estimated to be 3,00,000. 1600 km of Bangladesh border and 1547 km of Pakistan border and unsafe.” And the council demanded for national birth and death register besides other points. 14

The National Executive of the party in 1989 viewed with concern the situation developing in the states on the North Western and North Eastern borders of the country. It expressed anguish against the agitation of borders in a region with population of fourteen lakhs only for dividing Assam on a fifty-fifty basis, which had taken violent turn. 15

In the latest Presidential Address, of the National council, Kushabhau Thakre said the number of illegal infiltrations at 1.7 crore, which has aggravated the internal security and to under estimate, which would be the court disaster. 16

The Executive took up the situation, that in Tripura alone 11,000 illegal migrants were handeds over to the BSF for deportation but situation were that may more thousands were staying in the State with the continuance of congress(I) and CPI(M). In the West Pakistan infiltration in Gujrat had caused a 90 percent Muslim population in the border area of Kutch. 17

On this back drops, the National Executive put forward the following action plan to the government.

(i) The Indo-Pakistan border alongwith Punjab and Jammu Kashmir should be valid by creating a security belt.

(2) Barbed wire fenced alongwith Indo-Bangladesh border must be set up.

(3) A National register of citizens must be prepared and identify cards issued to all citizens in border states.
(4) The intelligence net-work should be strengthened to deal with these problems.

Besides these, the BJP has been working as the watch-dog of the North-East region than the rest of the parties are maintaining static acquittance. It warned on 1994 on total lack of co-ordination between central government and state government in the region, and demanded for determined effort 18.

The BJP also expressed its deep concern for Manipur in 1995 which was reaching under the threat of insurgency. The party demanded on 18th January 1995, the dismissal of Reishang Keichang Ministry for its inaction and utter failure to curb the activities of the under ground organisation. 19

The BJP was streched of arm drop at Purilia (West Bengal) on 27th December 1995 which stood the country with apprehension of external security. The party send a team headed by K.R.Malkani to have an on the spot appraisal of the situation. The team gave their opinion and told it was a failure of the government. both Union and State and particularly it took note of the CPI(M)’s collection of arms and ammunition from the spot 20. To the BJP, The government should not interfere with the working of intelligence agencies. The resources of the later being misutilised for collection of stale political information to cater to the ruling elite. 21

In 1995, L.K.Advani as a party president submitted the common man is living in an atmosphere of increasing lack of security. The law and order machinery has virtually collapsed and the very foundations of the country are being challenged. The ISI has spread its net work throughout the length
and breadth of the country; whether it is Kashmir or Tamilnadu, the ISI is involved in subversive activity.

“The explosions that occur in the Republic day parade in Jammu or the one in which the Punjab Chief Minister, Sri Beant Singh, was killed have left the Indian agencies clue less and non plausible. The IB (Intelligence Bureau) has been converted into the Congress dirty tricks department and is busy doing the ruling party’s bidding. The Ministers in the Home Ministry are undecided on a common strategy to meet the challenges of internal security.”

It was reviewed in 1996 that it’s entire North-Eastern states in India are to be seiged by ULFA terroists at the behest of our hostile neighbours. Bihar and Andhra Pradesh are worst Naxalite infested States in the country. Major metropolitan cities like Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Hyderabad, Madras etc. are subjected to occasional gun fire and bomb attacks by anti-social elements. Rampant Kidnapping and smuggling of narcotics to sponsor terrorism in India has become the order of the day.

In 1997 the party also strong deplored Prime Minister I.K.Gujral statement relating to holding of unconditional talks with the Nagaland rebels and that too and foreign land.

Where there is a will there is a way. BJP’s one of the primary concern is internal security and it always tries to take initiative for its purpose.
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TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

The BJP as the vibrant nationalist party, is avowedly committed to maintain territorial integrity empirically which is commonly different from the rest of the parties. It was on this emotive patriotic fervour that the BJP came into vogue.¹ The Jana Sangh declared, “United India is our life breadth”. The party defend against partition and the restoration of ‘Akhand Bharat’ demanded territory from Pakistan for the rehabilitation of Hindu refugees in India, and urged the liberation of Pakistan occupied areas of Kashmir.² Neither BJS nor BJP has left an inch from the original stand that Kashmir is integral part of India and this point remains non-negotiable.

However Pakistan issue has been reconciled by the BJP leadership so far with the lapse of time, yet they are optimistic in striking a confederations along with it, in view of larger historical and geographical prospective. Dr.M.M.Joshi is hopeful of voluntary merger of neighbouring countries which were part of earlier India, viz. Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma and Sri Lanka³.
The Jana Sangh people had participated in the liberation struggle of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, from Portuguese in 1954. The party had also opposed the transfer of refugee to Pakistan in 1960. Vajpayee demanded ratification of the agreement by parliament. He also questioned: The agreement on Pakistan occupied land in Kutch; "Why withdrew from our own land? Why Pakistani Police in Kutch?"

The party launch massive 'Satyagraha' of 5 lakh people against the agreement which convert Indian territory to Pakistan.

The BJP has been carefully emulating the same spirit. It is not shy or its critical approach to Pakistan occupied Kashmir since 1948 and 40,000 square miles of land occupied by China since 1962.

When the Central Government, in Collusion with the Jyoti Basu Government decided to handover the 'Tin Bigha corridor' to Bangladesh on a platter, without exchanging 95 'Enclaves' totaling nearly 30 square Miles. It was the BJP who stood firm and opposed it. Thousands of BJP activists were beaten up, arrested and subjected to torture. Two BJP workers laid down their lives in a police firing on 25th June, 1992, at Tin Bigha while opposing the transfer. Next year, on 26th June, 1993, the BJP manpower through corridor.
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The BJP realises to the heart’s content that national security is a matter of India’s sovereign right and it is a primary responsibility of the state. "Safety of nation is an integral whole; and analyam of social, political the military and diplomacy". The question of national security is a matter of party-politics and hence the party is in favour of national consensus in this area. The BJP has always stood for practical working unity of response between all stands of political thought in this vital sphere.

The objective of the party is to build up India, a strong and prosperous nation. This is inextricably related with defence and hence asserts mass allocation for it.

In mid-eighties, the BJP presumed Pakistani continued policy to go nuclear and hence demanded India to pursue the same way. In view of the security threat perception, the party strongly opposed to sign discriminating comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Vajpayee cautioned the United States, India would not be a party to nuclear apartheid.

The statement read, "we want a nuclear free world, but when dangers face the country, our response cannot be half hearted and unconvincing. Hence nuclear deterrent is a must."

Further he stated, "we regard the N.P.T. and its recent extension and ramification as an iniquitous arrangement. He believe that a Comprehensive
Test Ban Treaty can be arrived at but not through the creation of nuclear apartheid”.8

Whilst the BJP reaaffirms, its commitment to a global and total eradication of all weapons of mass destruction, till such time as such an arrangement can be convincingly brought about, India must reserve to itself the right all such decision as are in the interest of the nation. We urge upon this government, therefore, to go with us giving expression to precisely this thought from the sovereign platform of our parliament. So far as the BJP is concerned, it would like to reiterate its view that against the background of both China & Pakistan having become nuclear powers, national security warrants that India should, too much develop a nuclear deterrent of its own”.9

The National council meet at Vadodara in 1994 took stock of the situation and expressed its deep anguish in the defence of national security. It felt that the activities of the ISI which were confined only to Kashmir and Punjab have now spread to several other areas of the country including the North Eastern States, West Bengal, Bihar, Kerala and Bombay. It took serious note of the financial surrender of the government by realising the Militant at Hazaratbal was reflective to the psyche of the government. It is not firmly dealing with ISI or terrorism.10 Six month later BJP reviewed the situation and took strong exception to the state sponsored terrorism pursued by Pakistan and engaged in proxy war in Kashmir and elsewhere. ISI investment in Bombay, Calcutta and Chennai blast (1993-94) were eye opener”.11
Late General J.F.R.Jacob (retired) as a member of BJP defence cell contributed an article in 1995 warning them the threat of China. He reported that China had been developing long range missiles, and hence he pleaded for urgent need for modernisation of Indian armed forces.  

This was ignored by other parties and governments, but it was duly acknowledged by George Fernandes, when he became defence minister under Vajpayee Government, in 1998. The BJP could incorporate its desire of nuclear option in the National agenda for governance, and stood a series of nuclear desires including thermo nuclear on 11 and 13 May, 1998 drawing stiff criticism at home and abroad. Vajpayee confirmed that India has become a nuclear weapon power. Vajpayee government could have dared it in 1996, but he was voted out of power after thirteen days of his assumption of office. Pakistan tested its nuclear device within a fortnight, which amply indicates India’s concern.

Jagdish Prasad Mathur and Vijaya Kumar Mahapatra, the National Executive Members issued statement on February, 1995 against Islamic Fundamentalism which is at the root forming terrorist activities all over the world.

However in the light of the national emergency (1975-77), the BJP is cautious about misuse of International security Act. So while the extra-territorial forces are to be death with iron handed, the defence potential of the country must be threatened. As early as 1981, the party constituted are ex-serviceman’s cell. It takes up their varied problems in order to boost morale into the armed forces. Some of the points it dealt were.
This matter was constantly taken up in different platforms of the party. The National Executive at Goa in 1995, reaffirmed its nuclear options and development of indigenous Missile system. Vajpayee expressed it in Loksabha. On the eve of 1998 election, he made a detailed explanation of it thus: “I do believe in re-evaluation of India’s nuclear policy and expressing the option to conduct nuclear tests in order to keep up with the latest developments. This does not detract from the fact that I and my party are committed to a nuclear arms free world. Indeed India has been in the forefront of the demand for a time bound nuclear disarmament programme. But on the other hand, we are opposed to the practice of nuclear apartheid which appears to be the order of the day. It is in this context that I and my colleague pressured the government to oppose the comprehensive test Ban treaty in the absence of a simultaneous agreement for a time bound global-elimination of weapons of mass destruction in their entity. I would like to point out that a strong India, a secured India, does not mean a militarist India. A trustees of our civilizational traditions, we believe in peace and fraternity among other nations”. 18

The 1998 election manifesto reflected this notion that “the BJP rejects the notion of nuclear apartheid and will actively oppose attempts to impose a hegemonistic nuclear regime. We will not be dictated to anybody in matters of security and in the exercise of the nuclear option 19.
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The BJP world view of one people, one culture, one nation” give rise to the principle of common law may be political or civil, it is not BJP’s related innovation, but supported by the constitutional provision under the principle of state policy. The question of states dates back to the working of the constituent Assembly. The committee comprised of nine members. A decision had to take place regarding the position of the Civil code. 4/5 majority decided to keep it outside the ambit of the fundamental rights. By a majority of vote, it became a directive principle and so, unlike fundamental rights, non mandatory. However, the three dissenting voice were very outstanding viz. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Minoo Masani and Hansa Meheta. The dissent saying of the bench is that “One of the factors that has kept India back from advancing to nation hood has been the existence of personal laws based on religion, which keep the nation divided into water tight compartments in many aspects of life.” We are of the view that uniform civil code should guaranteed to the Indian people within a period of five to ten years”. 

Again for the BJP there is no question of Minority-Majority dichotomy on social and human aspect, rather a common civil code is constantly demand for secularism.
Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee challenged the government dare aimed at the Muslim personal law, if it is so interested for the social reform. But the fact is that government feels it easier to temper with Hindu code, where it is afraid of doing the same to others for obvious electoral reform. But Ballav Bhai Patel had made it crystal clear in 1947 that no special privilege would be made in the name of minority.

The demand for uniform civil code is the legacy of the Jana Sangh days. All the party documents and policy statement have been resembling this issue. This mode of argument is to usher into achieve nationhood with cognisance to social reform and realise temperament. Any kind of decision leads to separation which costs the unity and integrity of the nation.

Multiple civil codes are not only discriminating but in human as well, particularly affecting the women. A civil society cannot allow women to be discriminated in the name of religious practices. The Hindu code Bill restricts the Hindu male to one wife whereas Muslim law allows four wives. Moreover, it is a national question so much so that in term of population growth, small family system is confined to the Hindus. Muslims do not practise it. Thus Muslim population was 9.2 per cent in 1947 which increased to 12.7 per cent in the year 1997.

The non-BJP parties fear that a common civil code would mean imperation of Hindu code is misleading. Advani joins the issue thus: “When
the BJP talks of uniform civil code, it does not contemplate imposing the Hindu law in the country. Our party manifesto has very clearly stated that the BJP would ask the law commission to examine the Hindu law, the Muslim law, the Christian law and the Parsi law and call out the modern, progressive, equitable ingredient of these laws and, on that basis, draw up a common civil code. If some of the laws relating to the Hindus today have to go on that account, they have to go. For example, the Hindu undivided family act may have to go. Whatever has to be done, has to be done for all.”

To recall the statement of K.M. Munsi “A further argument has been advanced that, the enactment of a civil code would be tyrannical to minorities. Is it tyrannical? No where in advanced Muslim countries the personal law of each minorities has been recognised so sacrosanct as to prevent the enactment of a civil code. Even Dr. B.R. Ambedkar summed ..........upto 1935 the North West Frontier province was not subject to Shariat law. It followed the Hindu law in the matter of succession and in other matter.

The BJP appeared the Supreme Court direction to Government of India to take steps for implementation of Article 44 of the constitution on 10th May 1995. The judge held that, no religion permitted deliberate distortions. Much apprehension prevailed about bigamy in, Islam and many Islamic countries have codified the personal to check its abuse. Polygamy
has been completely banned in Syria, Tunisia, Morocco, Pakistan, Iran and the Islamic Republic of former Soviet Union, the court observed, “Religious practices, violative of human rights and dignity and sacredotal suffocation of essentially civil and material freedom, are not autonomy but oppression.” It added, therefore, the Judges said, a unified code of imperative, “both for the production of oppressed and promotion of national unity and solidarity.” “When more than 80 per cent of the citizens have already been brought under the codified personal law there is no justification whatsoever to keep in abeyance any more, the introduction of code, said the court”

Justice Kuldip Singh, one of the two judge pointedly held that “While the Hindus along with the Sikhs, Budhists and Jains had fasten their sentiments in the cause of national unity and integration, some other communalist have not.”

M.Farooqui, late CPI leader, stated “The Supreme Court should have taken note of the feeling of security among the Muslims. We have to move slowly in this matter as we live in a multi-religious society, where all sections must live. The non-BJP parties take the refugee of multi-religious and cultural pluralistic composition of Indian nation in order to camouflage where pseudo-secularism; and this is the basic reason for the obstinate attitude of the so-called minorities. This very question unfolds the fundamental perception of Indian nation, putting BJP as the party of difference.”
The BJP Siv Sena government in Maharastra took the first step in 1995 towards ensuring equality before the law and removing the debilitating influence of personal laws. It introduced a uniform law preventing bigamous marriages and thereby achieved the acclaimed system of monogamy. The second law, also in keeping with the letter and spirit of Article 44, provides for uniform civil law of adoption. These two parts breaking laws together constitute the first step towards ushering in a uniform civil code for the state irrespective of their religion, race or caste.
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AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Agriculture sustains, 71.4 per cent of the nation’s population\(^1\), and the BJP believes that neglect of agriculture is the first cardinal of our ‘Modernistic planners’\(^2\). The party is of the considered view that India willnot become a strong, prosperous and confident nation until and unless there is a qualitative improvement put in our rural economy\(^3\) and consequently of our farmers\(^4\).

The BJP in 1980, declared its commitment to land reforms and agrarian restructuring\(^5\). In 1981, the National Executive Meeting held at Simla, the party demanded that

1. To support price of Rs. 13.5 should be announced for paddy.
2. All restrictions on inter-district and inter state movement of food grain should be abolished and
3. No permanent levy should be imposed for paddy.

In the Presidential Address to the National Council at Surat in 1982, Vajpayee was worried for the farmers cause—particularly seeds for his products, while looking at the consumer’s interest\(^6\). The council took stock of the situation of unequal race of agricultural product and inability of the farmer to get support\(^7\).
The National Executive in 1983 resolved to

(i) Distribute land to landless within two years and
(ii) To expanded Minor irrigation projects.8

The National Executive at Indore, in 1984, while exposing neglect of agriculture is sought to organise ‘Kishan Sammelans’ (Farmers conferences) in all states to demand remunerative price for farmers and render ways for agricultural product. 9

The Election Manifesto of 1998 gave the clarion call of Jai Kisan and committed itself to-

(i) Earmark 60 percent of plan funds in the budget for agricultural and rural development.

(ii) Make a quantum increase in Governmental and private investment in improving the rural infra-structure of irrigation, allweather roads, transport, power, telecommunication , credit and financing facilities. 10.

“Water to every piece of land, has been a slogan of BJP since 1971 (BJS days) and the manifesto of 1998 sought to double the area under irrigation in ten years through optimum use of small, medium and large scale projects”. The manifesto also reaffirms , “To take adequate steps to revive village industry, provide for agriculture, strengthen the rural co-operative movement, implement land reform and improve rural education exclusively covering three pages, exposing its deep commitment. In chapter dealing with education, the manifesto talked to introduce agriculture studies as a subject in rural schools.” 12
After coming to power at the centre, in the National Council meeting held at Gandhinagar, the newly elected President put special reference on agriculture and said -

“Our goal has to be two fold: we have to give agriculture its due place in economy and change the anti-kisan mind set that has shaped government policy till now. I call upon the government to expeditiously step up investment in this sector and address the farmers problems without delay ”. 13

In the last few months we have witnessed tragedy descend upon farmers who lost their crops due to nature’s vagaries. Farmers can be protected from ruination through effective and comprehensive insurance policies. This should be actively considered by the government, more so because we have already promised to provide this safety – to those who toil to feed the country’s teeming millions.

“ There has been a consistent demand for higher remunerative prices for agricultural produce. With input costs escalating, farmers no doubt deserve higher prices. I am happy that the government has already announced an increase in wheat prices”.

“But we should not ignore the needs and interests of landless farmers and agricultural workers. Land reforms and land redistribution should be actively pursued by the government as it still remains an unfinished agenda of independent India. 14. True to its commitment the Indian budget of 1998-99 hiked agriculture outlay by a shopping 58. percent, which is reared since independence. This spells volumes of its indication and direction. Yet, it has a long way to go.
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**BAN ON COW SLAUGHTER**

With regard to its agricultural policy, the Bharatiya Janata Party attempts for the ban on cow slaughter.

It is a pity to see, rampant violence all over the country whose independence was secured through non violence. The cow plays a most significant role in the life of Indian people and is an important feature of India culture. It is therefore natural that Indian people give top most priority to the protection of cow and its descendants. The cow is the main stay of our agricultural economy and specially of the smaller farmer. That is why so many important institutions and personality have been making a demand for the protection of cow from time to time. It is well known that Acharya Vinoba Bhave had staked his life for a complete ban on cow slaughter by resorting to hunger strike. Even now the Sarva Sewa Sangh is continuing its agitation for the total ban on the cow slaughter. Indira Gandhi had also assured Vinobha Babe that she would ban cow slaughter. But it is amazing that she is doing nothing to put it into practice. Infact, the Administration has completely forget of its responsibility towards the protection of cow.\(^1\)
The ban on cow slaughter has three main aspects. religious, economic and political. The religious aspect concerns humanity. All Hindu scriptures consider cow as a mother of the universe because the cow has served mankind since its evolution. Above all, the Vedas has described the cow as ‘the mother of the world’. ²

The significance of the cow in Indian economy has been brought out by J.C. Kumarappa, an exponent of Gandhian economic who said “The need for milk for a vegetarian country like ours makes us give a premier place the cow as a feeder of the nation. Apart from this, it also provides for the bullock which is the motive power with which the farmer cultivates the land.”³

The plough was the only implement which best turned the soil to correct depth with least damage. Gandhiji also held that the urine passed by cattle was rich in valuable manurial matter and the cow dung along with other waste matter could be converted into fuel.⁴ The cow was useful even after death because the varied parts of her body—her flesh, bones and intestines, horns and skin could be put to use. For which he laid a special stress on the protection of cow. He was constantly advocating measures to protect cattle on one occasion in 1927, he had inadvertently given his assent to a draft Congress resolution on Hindu-Muslim unity which gave permission to
Muslim to slaughter cows. The very next morning, he realised the enormity of his oversight and asked this portion to be amended. He said “not even to win, Swaraj will I renounce my principle of cow protection”.  

In a statement K.R.Malkani says, “we are appalled by the attempt of some misguided congress MPs to interpret the BJP government’s resolve to ban the slaughter of cow and cow progeny as a ‘communal decision’ and anti-Muslim step”. The president address to parliament on 24th May, 1996 referred to proposed ban on slaughter of cow and cow progeny.  

Article 48 of the constitution explicitly direct the government to prohibit the slaughter of cows and calves and other milch and drought cattle. By asserting its decision to ban the slaughter of cow progeny, the BJP government has only reaffirmed its commitment to the constitution of the country. Those who criticize the BJP for its stand on cow protection are either extremely ill informed or are eager to score political point keeping in mind their vote banks. We would like to draw attention to the fact that slaughter of cows and calves is banned in virtually every state of the country. What is allowed is slaughter of bull and bullocks provided they are certified as useless. The BJP has categorically stated in its election manifesto, the party to resolve to bring about suitable amendments to Article 48 for the purpose of removing in the law and imposing a uniform ban throughout the
country. As per the statement of Hadith; the prophet of Islam said, “Cow milk is medicine, cow flesh is poison”. Therefore, the criticism of BJP’s policy that it is aimed against any particular community is obviously motivated by the sole intention of instigating communal disharmony. Such low politics with an issue that enjoys constitutional validity can only be deplored in the strongest possible terms.9

In the election manifesto of 1996, the BJP recognises the fact that from times immemorial cow protection has remained one of the basics of Indian culture and Indian agriculture and it is on the patient back of the cow and its progeny that the entire structure of Indian agriculture vests. Over 70 million animals are employed in farming operations in Indian villages, more than 80 percent rural transport needs are met by bullock cart. Our livestock is also an effective protection against environmental degradation.10

The BJP would like a full bench of the Supreme Court to go into the whole matter.11

The Supreme court examined whether the sacrifice of cow is enjoined or sanctioned by Islam? It was urged that who were Muslim by religion that the total ban on cow slaughter violates the fundamental rights of the Muslim guaranteed under Article 25 of the constitution,12 which ensure freedom of conscience and free profession of any practice and propagation
of any faith and religion. For which, the sacrifice of cow on the occasion of Bakri Idd day is a religious practice. It was further claimed that the sacrifice of cow is a practice and custom in their religion. The Supreme court therefore held that the ban on slaughter of cow even on Id Kurban day did not violate the fundamental right of Muslim under Article 25 as it had not been established that the sacrifice of a cow on that day was an obligatory act for a Mussalman to exhibit his religious belief and idea.\cite{13}

It is clear from the above that the demand for ban on slaughter of cow is based on economic reasons vital for the country with predominantly agricultural economy. This demand is not ‘communal’ but is ‘secular’ and is consistent with the constitutional mandate contained in Article 48. The opposition to this ban on slaughter of cows proceeds from ‘communal’ considerations with the sole object of vote bank politics. This opposition is contrary to the constitutional mandate and the constitutional position clarified by the Supreme Court as far back as 1958 and reiterated again in 1994.\cite{14}

Finally, the BJP’s Election Manifesto of 1998 regretfully observe that, despite Article 48 of the constitution, Millions of cows and cow progeny are slaughtered every year, most of them for export, thereby causing irreparable harm to agriculture and villages. Keeping in view of Article 48, the BJP will;
(i) Impose a total ban on the slaughter of cows and cow\progeny, including bulls and bullocks and prohibit all trade, including export (state as well as private) in beef.

(ii) Create a policy that will result in improved cattle breeding.

(iii) Exempt the income of Goshalas and Pinjapoles from tax.\(^ {15} \)

At best, the counter act of space here for minute analysis, cow protection has obviously remained as an entire issue to the continuing of BJP whom it addresses but it’s nationalist appeal is boundless right since the days of renaissance.
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AYODHYA ISSUE

Ayodhya in Faizabad district of Uttar Pradesh is believed to be the birth place of Lord Ram by the Hindus. But the Mughal Emporer Babur built a Mosque in 1528 in that place. A long legal battle between the Hindus and the Muslims started in 1950, on 1st February. 1989, the District Court ordered to open the Masjid structure for the Hindus. This was followed by many communal riots in North India. After 1989, the BJP directly involved in the agitations led by Viswa Hindu parishad for reconstruction of the temple. The agitation became a national issue and the Hindu-Muslim relations deteriorated in many parts of the country, inspite of large scale precautionary security measures taken by the government.

In June 1989, the BJP adopted a resolution demanding that the government should allow the construction of the temple. The resolution stated “The national executive of the BJP regards the current debate on the Ram Janma Bhoomi issue as one which has dramatically highlighted the callous unconcern which the congress particularly and other political party in general betray the sentiment of overwhelming majority in the country, the Hindus. It made frequent reference to the government allergy to the Hindus and called for the construction of the temple as the legitimate right of the Hindus in a Hindu majority country. The BJP’s resolution clearly
describes the issue as one majority rights as well as cultural regeneration. Its main target was the state rather than the Muslim.^^

The RSS, VHP, BJP volunteers (Karsevaks) overwhelming the security forces stormed the Ayodhya complex and hoisted saffron flags over its three domes on 30th, October, 1990. In the fierce battle with the security forces, hundreds of volunteers lost their lives.^

In recent history, the Ayodhya issue has been the greatest mass movement. It had a religious and cultural origin. But it has profoundly influenced the political destiny of India because of the insensitivity of the current political leadership to the spiritual and cultural aspiration of Indian Nation. Now the Ayodhya issue has changed into a national issue and great importance to it is given.~

The Bharatiya Janata party has always affirmed that the Ayodhya movement is not just a plea for a temple for Sri Ram but it reflects a far deeper quest for recapturing our national identity. The movement is firmly rooted in the inclusive and assimilative cultural heritage of India. It represents the soul of the nationalist trust of our freedom movement. The post independence political creed of the congress and of most; other political parties had come to regard everything that inspired the nation in the past as less than secular in fact communal and even anti-national^.

Again BJP considers Ram Janmabhoomi Babri Masjid issue not as a Hindu-Muslim problem but as a national work. While going to inform the President for withdrawal of support from National Front on 23rd October,
1990, Atal Bihari Vajpayee reported the newsmen outside the Rastrapati Bhawan that a wrong done in history could be corrected then Ram stands for the entire wave length of India’s ideal, value and Morale. “He represents Indian culture, tradition and above all the soul.”

L.K. Advani said - “Respect to Ram is respect to Nation”. To the contrary Babri Maṣjid as a piton of Babur, who invaded India in 1526 and his commander Mir Baṣī Khan constructed victory over Ram temple in 1526, which had been built in 11th Century, also substantiated by archeologist.⁶ Prof. B.B.Lal, Sri B.R.Grover, Prof. Devendra Swaroop, Mrs. Sudha Malaya believe that, it was Bishnu temple in 18th Century A.D.⁷ /

Iqbal Ahamad, A BJP leader of Uttar Pradesh uttered “Ram was our ancestor and construction of Ram temple is the moral responsibility as much of the Hindus and the Muslims.” The President of the Indian Muslim Youth Congress in May, 1980 said “The Government should hand over the Babri Mosque to the Hindus by means of legislation”. This should go a long way in bringing Hindu-Muslim closer together.⁸/

A European Koenard Elst, comments on this vexed issue that “an amicable bilateral decision to leave Ram Janmabhoomi to the Hindus is essential. It would teach the Muslims that they cannot continue to regard their own abandoned building as more sacred than other people’s place of pilgrimage. It would make Muslims to face their own history and teach them that they too have to respect others ........ It is beyond dispute that the
Hindus have given many concessions than the Muslims. Before there can be equality, the Hindus feel it necessary that some concessions come forward from Muslim side ....... Hindus quote a simple non-religious nationalist questions. Why on Indian Republic Babur should prevail upon India. “Ram is an Indian, Babur is an invader”

Advani explicitly dissociated his party from RSS family. Stating categorically that there was a conceptual difference between his party and VHP. The movement according to him has certainly give our movement against pseudo secularism a sharp edge.

December 6 and aftermath

The Ayodhya Movement, according to the BJP, is not just for building a temple. ‘It is a mass movement’, The circumstances that led to outburst of Karsevaks, who destroyed the Babri Masjid are an important and instructive part of current history of India. It is slanderous to say that Ayodhya Movement is an assault on secularism. It is wrong to describe even the demolition of Babri structure as negation of secularism.

Advani said, “What has gratified us all along is not merely that our numerical strength in parliament and state legislature has been growing at a rapid pace but that acceptance of our ideology in all sections of society and at all levels has been growing simultaneously. A silent minority has been building up even among the Muslims which appreciates that, the BJP is not anti-Muslim as its enemies have been trying to depict it and more importantly, the BJP leadership means what it says and says what it means and is not
hypocritical like other political parties. The BJP government track record in the matter of preserving communal peace in their respective status has added considerably to the BJP’s credibility in this regard. It is the process of winding acceptability of the BJP ideology within the country. It is this process precisely which may be some what decelerated by the December 6 events. It is said that over 1000 persons have lost their lives in the aftermath of Ayodhya. It is certainly a matter of anguish.11

Again Advani said, “In Parliament, as well as outside, a prime target of attack for our critics has been Kalyan Singh. He is being accused of betrayal of deceit of conspiracy and what not. The general reaction is that Kalyan Singh promised to the courts, to the National Integration Council and to the central government that he would protect the structure, New Delhi trusted his word, he has betrayed the trust. Along with it he said, he would not use force against the Karsevaks because he would not like to see any repetition of the traumatic happenings which took place in 1990 during Mulayam Singh tenure. This has been stated even in the affidavit given to the Supreme Court by the UP Government. On 6th December, Mr Kalyan Singh stuck to his stand. When informed that all efforts at persuading the Karsevaks to desist from demolishing the structure had failed and that protection of the structure had become impossible except by resorting firing, he resigned forth with”.12

“It is significant, that the last phase of the demolition, the clearing of the debris, installation of Ram Lalla idols - all happened after New Delhi
had taken over the state administration. Yet, wisely against, the Narasimha Rao Government made no attempt to prevent it all happening.” No doubt it was Kalyan Singh, who tried to protect the Babri structure. He failed to do so, so, he resigned. The protection of the country’s Prime Minister is responsibility of Union Home Minister. The country should not forget that Rao was the Home Minister, when Mrs. Gandhi was brutally killed, it can be said that Rao failed to protect her and that he failed to protect more than 3,000 Sikhs who were killed in the wake of Mrs. Gandhi assassination.”13

Advani adds, “I am not accusing Rao, for failing to resign on that score. I am only trying to point out how out vaged he would have felt, if say in 1984 he had been accused not just of a failure to protect but of actual complicity in the perpetration of those horison crimes”.14

The Ayodhya issue had repercussions worldwide. People felt that India’s democratic traditions were a mere house of cards and this had come down collapsing. Temples were burnt in the Bangladesh, Gulf countries and in London. There were fears that the oil producing Muslim nations would enforce sanctions on the supply of oil to India and this would further worsen our inflation in the economy.15

Four State government Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan were dismissed. As many as 1,119 people and probably more were killed in the communal disturbance that occurred in various states following the demolition of Babri Mosque.
On December 10, 1992 the Government of India banned and declared as unlawful to the Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, the Jamat-e-Islam, the Viswa Hindu Parisad (VHP) and Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS). The order issued under the unlawful Activities prevention Act, 1967, empowers the government to prohibit the use of funds by any organisation engaged in spreading communal feelings. Doubts have however been expressed by political ‘Pandits’ on the efficacy of the ban. For instance the RSS, who has 7000 pracharak or propagators, of these only 40 were active with BJP. Besides the RSS had 84 registered organisations at the national level and thousands at the state level. They were working for a ‘Hindu Rastra’. Could the government arrest all the 25 lakhs Swayam Sevaks of the Sangh? Similarly, the VHP has 100 branches around the world. How could all of them be banned or prevented from action?

BJP’s white paper on Ayodhya

The BJP’s white paper on Ayodhya is an emphatic repudiation of Prime Minister Narasinha Rao’s charge that the demolition of the disputed structure was a pre-planned conspiracy. The demolition, it says was the end result of the cumulative effect of both historical and immediate provocations. For the political parties it was a ‘barbaric’ act and a ‘national shame’. But for the people it was a symbol of resurgence and represented liberation “from a symbol of subjugation. Ayodhya document says, it marks a watershed in Indian history”. The document quoted government and BJP sources to say the talk had already collapsed as the AIBMAC was no longer interested in
them. The document gives a detailed background of the whole issue and deals with historical, archeological, religious and cultural aspect of the dispute. It describes the fact that the government’s document dismissed the 450 years of history in just 450 words. It quotes a summary of the evidence given both the sides. The All India Babri Masjid Action Committee evidence did not address specific issue and was nothing but a disjointed collection of wild hypothesis, conjecture and personnel attack. Further Advani drew attention to the position that “If any temple has existed at the side (whether or not, it had been demolished for the construction of Masjid) the Muslim side would be prepared for demolition/ shifting the Masjid”. The document says, It had also held that the VHP had produced irrefutable evidence that under Islamic practices Mosque could be shifted and were being shifted in certain countries.¹⁸

Advani said, that this showed the BJP-VHP leaders wanted an amicable solution but Rao was interested only in putting the former on the defensive and to put them in confrontation with Karsevaks.¹⁹

The problem is yet unsolved, and it is yet a political issue working with BJP. Advani addressed the plenary session of the party in 1995. “When the BJP thought for the construction of Ram Mandir in Ayodhya, it is with the view to strengthening the cultural foundation, the nationalism being to raise a magnificent Rastra Mandir of Bharat Mata”.²⁰
REFERENCES


3. Ibid., no. 1


8. Ibid. ,no.2 ,P.163.

9. Ibid. ,no.5.


12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.


19. *Indian Express* 19th April, 1993.

BJP’s insistence on Dharma follows the importance on secularism. The whole theory is that, Dharma is not to be confused with religion.\(^1\)

The Election manifesto of Bharatiya Jana Sangh explains, “Dharma really means those eternal principles which sustain an entity - individual or corporate - and abiding, by which that entity can achieve material prosperity in this world and spiritual salvation in the next”. The basic attributes of Dharma are eternal and immutable. But in the matter of a detailed spelling out of these principles, Dharma does vary in accordance with place and period. Nevertheless in this changing world, Dharma is the only factor that brings stability to the society. According to Indian policy, therefore absolute sovereignty rests in Dharma alone.\(^2\)

In the Krita-yuga, “they say all men were guided in their conduct towards one another by Dharma, so there was no state, that is our conception of the ideal state of society-statelessness and regulated entirely by Dharma. This is possible only when everyone becomes selfless and Dharma-nishtha. But ordinarily the institution of state is necessary to maintain and to assure to every individual all opportunity for following his Dharma..... Dharma Rajya is our ideal. The ideal of the Indian state has been Dharma Rajya”.\(^3\)
Dharma Rajya does not recognise any individual or body as sovereign. Every individual is subject to certain obligations and regulations. Right of the executive of the legislature as well as the people are determined and regulated by Dharma. Licentious conduct is not permitted. The nearest english equivalent of Dharma Rajya is Rule of law. On the one hand it curbs on arbitrativeness and totalitarianism and on the other hand, it prevents democracy from degenerating into mobocracy. While other concept of state are rights oriented, the Indian concept of Dharma Rajya is duty oriented. Naturally therefore, there is no scope here for rights being trampled upon or for any hankering duty, of power madness or of any conflict of rights.4

In Dharma Rajya, peoples rights are inviolable. It is the duty of the people to guard these rights of their zealously because it is through the exercise of these rights that they can fulfil their Dharma.------Duties and rights are thus the two sides of a triangle which has Dharma as its base. It is the right of a soldier to be equipped with arms, without arms he cannot fulfil his duty of defending the people, but how these arms are to be provided, and used in a matter governed entirely by Dharma. Dharma is also guide to national freedom as well as economic and social emancipation.5

Deendayal Upadhyaya describes democracy as ‘Jana Rajya’ and held that it must be rooted in Dharma which is eternal.6 In the definition of democracy - a government of the people, by the people, and for the people,
of’ stand for independence, ‘by’ stand for democracy and ‘for’ indicates Dharma. In a Dharma Rajya, the state is absolutely powerful but it is subject to Dharma, which is sovereign.

The BJP calls, for a democracy with its policy rooted in Dharma, “that fired the imagination of millions of people during the freedom struggle”. It describe that morality and ethics have all but disappeared from public life and the religion of markets has replaced the tenents of dharma. The latest election manifesto recalls the importance of religious faith in moulding human life.

In 1993, two bills were introduced in the parliament separating religion from politics. It was precisely against this kind of mischief by the centre that its efforts to legislate against mixing of religion with politics were so strongly opposed by the entire opposition in parliament. The Supreme Court ruling implies that it has taken over the function of legislature even while remaining eloquently silent over the fears expressed in parliament.

The BJP’s opposition was articulated by Sri Advani, “We strongly object to religion being translated as Dharma- for the average Indian, irrespective of whether he is a Hindu, or a Muslim or Christian, his respective religion is for him an inspiration for righteous conduct. By ousting religion from politics, we will only be weakening the moral base of public life...... politics should be cleansed of adharma, not dharma. It should be rid of corruption and criminalisation not of probity and integrity.”
These incidents cited by the government and relied upon by the court are not in the nature of executive and legislative act. The question of constitutional violation is relevant when legislative or executive act of a government is involved. It is very strange that the highest court should have overlooked this distinction.13

Then there is the curious charge levelled by the centre and upheld by the court that three Chief Ministers of Himachal Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh being RSS members could not be expected to execute the ban on the organisation, thereby disregarding their constitutional obligation. The country has a right to expect a fresh review of the whole issue in the light of these misgivings over the judgement.14

The argument is that the country has a right to expect a fresh look at the dismissal of the BJP government in the light of the misgiving. The people should not get any doubt on the judiciary in holding that the BJP government were mixing religion with politics, should have proceeded on the assumption that Hinduism is merely a religion. Every authority on Hinduism, right from Aurobindo and Radhakrishnan or Anne Besant did not persue religion in the sense that the world is understood in common parlance. In fact the original word is Sanatana Dharma which the English is referred to Hinduism/As described by Dr.Murli Manohar Joshi, "Religion as a synonym of rituals should not be inducted into politics. But as used in philosophical context or as a synonym of spirituality, it will
continue to sway politics. He contended that politics bereft of spirituality, is the source of all social and political ills. Our history had been one of tempering politics with the milk of Spirituality.\textsuperscript{15}

After the introduction of the bill to differentiate religion from politics and after the dismissal of state government in four BJP’s rule states like Uttar Pradesh, Himalachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, the BJP started the Yanadesh Yatra under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The Yatra covered 14 states comprising 180 Lok Sabha constituencies and 605 Assembly constituencies in 137 districts.

Addressing the Bhopal rally Sri Advani said, that, the Janadesh Yatra had two objectives, those are (1) To mobilise public opinion against the draconian bills seeking to delink religion from politics. (2) To mount public pressure on the authorities after issue of election notification immediately for the four states in which the BJP government were dismissed unconstitutionally.

Alongwith the issue of religion bill other issues such as Corruption, threat to Internal security, Criminilisation of politics and effect of Dunkel proposals on farmers were also raised in the course of the yatra. But the Ram Janmabhoomi issue occupied a prime place. At one meeting Bhairon Singh Sekhawat amidst deafening applause declared, “Just as the Mantra of ‘Vande Mataram’, drove the British away, the Mantra of ‘Jai Sri Ram’, has driven away the cultural slavery of Hinduism.......drive the Congress away from power”. \textsuperscript{16}
REFERENCES


3. Ibid., P.7.

4. Ibid., P.8.

5. Ibid.


7. Ibid.,


12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.


16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.
GENUINE SECULARISM

Secularism is a principle of state, not the foundation as envisaged by the over talents, in relation to the religions denominations. True to age-old Indian tradition, the BJP insists on having faith on genuine or positive secularism. The party intending the legacy of Jana Sangh, continues to maintain this undiluted stand. To Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, "The goal to restore to the nation, its supreme glory, is not inconsistent even in the modern concept of democracy, so to say as the people belonging to the non-Hindu do not indulge in anti-national activities by acquiring power, do not conspire to put rush the nation back in its progress on the path of glory, a guarantee of providing them for the civil rights and equal status in political, religious and cultural field is implied in the concept of Hindu nation."

Deendayal Upadhyaya had reiterated in the Calicut session of Janasangh in 1966 that, "We are pledged to the belief not of any particular community but of the entire nation. Every country man is blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh, we shall not rest, unless we are all to give to everyone of them, a sense of pride that they are children of Bharat Mata". The Jana Sangh document added, "Tolerance and respect of all faiths and creeds is an essential feature of the Indian state. Freedom of worship and conscience is guaranteed to all and the state does not discriminate against
anyone on grounds of religion either in the formulation of policy or in its implementation. It is a nonsectarian state and not a theocratic state."

Taking this stream the BJP organ reads, "The party is firmly committed to the doctrine of a secular state as conceived by our constitution makers. A secular state is not an irreligious or antireligious state. Secularism has thus essential ingredients, firstly, rejection of theocracy, secondly, a guarantee of equality, security and justice to all citizens, irrespective of their religion and thirdly, full freedom of faith and conscience. The BJP is determined to uphold this concept." Advani adds, "we will act in a truly secular and constitutional way. Everyone, including the so-called minorities will be free to exercise their fundamental rights regarding freedom to worship. Over and above that, there will be a complete guarantee of security, equality and social justice." It announced BJP's resolve to work for Ram Rajya a strong, clean and generally secular government. He further explains the Hindu credential of harmony", which is articulated by K.N.Govindacharya thus, "In the Hindu Rastra, we will respect all models of worship. But all of us will be Hindu, whether Arya Samajist, Sanatan dharmies, Mahammadean Hindus, or Issa Hindus".

The Hindu phenomenon is swell by the critics as communal not withstanding BJP's repeated clarification of its geo-cultural dimension. To these kinds of politicians and intellectuals, secularism is euphemism clock their allergy to Hinduism. But this treats the danger of minoritism
carefully accentuated by vote-bank politics. Advani reminds the constituent assembly debate by Sardar Patel who linked up special privilage with minoritism. Advani answered a query recalling Patel’s approach to Hindu-Muslim problem. His (Patel’s) approach was that, this is broadly a Hindu country and the tendency to shy away from Hindu feeling is not secularism.¹⁰

Vajpayee puts this deliberation further, “Hindu cannot be fundamentalists, the Hindu world view, we must remember is inclusivist, as opposed to the exclusivist world view of other faiths. And if 50 years after its independence from foreign rule, India still remains a secular state, it is essentially because the majority of the country’s population is Hindu and the nation’s culture and traditions are rooted in the Hindu ethos. Yet, India was never a theocracy and never be one. I can assert with conviction that India shall always remain a secular state. Historically, there has never been any discrimination or favoritism on the basis of religion in India” ¹¹

During the talk with the Bishops of the Church in Kerala Dr. M.M. Joshi describes the majority - minority relationship, since India is a secular country.¹² In fact this minority - psyche cost the nation heavily in 1947. Therefore, BJP favours ‘Minority Commission’ to be replaced by ‘Human Rights Commission’.¹³

Vajpayee declares, “Our country will be secular in all religions.”¹⁴ BJP’s perception is equal treatment to all religions (Sarva Dharma Samabhava) and appeasement to none. This expression has been repeatedly declared in different platforms of the party.¹⁵ Advani ridiculed theocracy, but also minoritism,¹⁶ and expressed minoritism in term of ‘vote secularism’.¹⁷
Pseudo secularism is tinged with competition communalism. Prof. Javed Alam observes that, “Pseudo secularism has corrupted our nationalism enter into the vitals of the Indian nation. It is Pseudo because of the appeasement of the minorities and especially so as it is based on the systematic tempering of Muslims,” besides others. Illustrations were overwhelming............Islamic conference 1969, Sahabano case, 1985 and quick ban on Salman Rushdie, “Satanic Verses in 1988 and so on, besides their perception on Kashmir issue, abolition of cow slaughter and uniform civil code. Day in and day out pseudo-secular psyche is demonstrated in political behaviour, illustratively the Congress(I) in North-East carrying slogan, “support Congress(I) because it supports Christianity” and in turn the Church issuing an appeal to vote for Congress(I) candidates.

The Election Manifesto of 1998 assures to provide all minority communities with equal opportunities for prosperity, and in order to get perfect harmony it calls upon to ban job advertisements which require applicants to declare their religion. The top leadership of the BJP has been stressing from time to time to demonstrate that it is not against the Muslims, who are as much part of Indian Society as Hindus. It has established a minority cell which looks after the interest of the minorities especially Muslims.

In 1995, the BJP - Shiv Sena success in Maharashtra Assembly Election is attributable to Muslim support. Even in the last 1998, Lok Sabha election, BJP could secured 7 per cent of the Muslims votes. Though this is not
spectacular, it is encouraging in the sense that the tally is improving. But the style of functioning does not land on collecting votes to treat the Muslim as equal.23

The BJP governments have a record of maintaining communal harmony and there were less number of communal riots during the arena of the government.24 Syed Sahjahan, President of the Patna based Indian Minority Democratic front unequivocally states “since independence the Congress has been exploiting us. Now it stands exposed. We are perpetually safe with Vajpayee.25 Similarly Shujanddin Saajid expressed his sentiment that other parties are more interested for Muslim votes, than the Muslims where as, the interest of minorities are really safe in the hands of BJP”.26 Kushabhau Thakre urge the minority communities to judge BJP not by what their detractors says, but by their performance and their actions.27

The phenomenal growth of the BJP in the last one decade is attributable to the ideological debate launched by the BJP on the real content of Indian secularism.28
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6. Press Conference, Mumbai 22nd April, 1995


8. Nayeem, Sadar. S.K. “Continuing an India that may Never be”


9. Statement of L.K. Advani on 13th October, 1994 at Chennai,


21. Ahuja, G.M. 'BJP and Indian Politics', P.339.
EDUCATION POLICY

The BJP’s education and language policies are shaped by its nationalist orientation, since its inception, it realised that a proper education policy for the nation must be formulated in conformity with employment need¹ and ordained a statement on education policy in April 1984. "The party would accomplish to have school education free but following the Gandhian ideas make college education pay for itself except for those who are bright but come from poor families."²

Considering the supreme importance of the role of education in national development, The BJP would suggest a bold and imaginative educational programme, which-

(i) is directed towards the full development of individual personality.

(ii) is related to productivity, and leads to eradication of poverty.

(iii) Helps in modernising the society and in quick assimilation of science and technology, with work experience and dignity of manual labour as an essential part of education.

(iv) Leads to the adoption of democracy as a way of life, helps in the establishment of an egalitarian society, fosters national and social integration and promotes a healthy international outlook.
Inculcates necessary and desirable moral and social value and self discipline.

The BJP believes that, education is a life long process and the two alternatives of part time and own time (independent) learning should also be given the same status as full time education.

Further the party believe that, blind adoption of the standard of affluent societies with regard to educational buildings and equipments will not help implementing the constitutional obligation. The party would instead to evolve a new strategy of a teacher oriented education expansion programme suitable to Indian-conditions and traditions.

Finally, the Election Manifesto of 1998 assumes “Education for all” and quality education in the above stream. Towards this end, the BJP will:

(i) increase state spending on education progressively to six percent and more of our Gross National Product within five years;
(ii) achieve near complete literacy in five years, particularly by mobilising social participation and full literacy by the year 2010.
(iii) Launch a nation wide educational quality, improvement campaign covering all institutions from primary schools to universities.
(iv) Set up a special monitoring authority to scrutinise the quality of education, and remove gender display; besides other points.
REFERENCES

2. Ahuja, G.M. *BJP and Indian Politics* P.128.
3. *Ibid*.
4. *Ibid*.
Electoral reform is an important variable in order to sustain and strengthen democracy. The BJP since the days of BJS has been sounding this factor with care and caution and was also interpreted in the policy statement of ‘Our five commitments’ in 1980.

As early as 1967, Deendayal Upadhyaya in his Presidential Address at Calicut session, pleaded for radical electoral system and commanded consideration of West Germany’s mixed systems as a possible basis for reform. Every political scientist takes serious note of the malice of the present territorial system of representation where ‘first-past-the rest’, restored, adopted notwithstanding his percentage of vote. This results in disproportionate representation in the legislature. Illustratively the BJP secured 78 per cent of the total valid votes across the country, but could secured 2 seats in the House of 545 in the year 1984. Where the Telugu Desham emerged as the second largest party in the Lok Sabha with 33 members strongly having approximately 1 per cent of the valid votes polled in the country. This anomaly could be corrected by introduction of list system of voting, according to which the party is expected to present a list of its members in preparation to the votes it polls. This could be employed
for the upper house in Rajya Sabha in order to balance the disproportion suffer in the lower house is Lok Sabha. This was reiterated by Vajpayee in 1998.2

In the Election Manifesto of 1971, “The BJS included, the demand of mixed system and reiterated it subsequently. Advani repeated the demand in 1979 even while he was in the government, in order to give a letter and content to any policy”. Also he repeated in his address to Mumbai Plenary Session in 1995 in order to made India a ‘participatory democracy’.

The BJP has been of the view that the roots of administrative corruption lie in the political corruption and that political corruption in turn steams from electoral corruption. As a leader of Jana Sangh, it was Vajpayee who first raised this issue of poll reform in parliament in 1969. But the Lok Sabha was dissolved in December 1970 and the matter was postponed. However he further demand in 1971, made the government setup a joint parliamentary committee which submitted its report in 1972. But the government remained silent over the report. Tarkunde Committee in 1974 and Dinesh Goswami Committee in 1990 have also submitted valuable report. But no follow action had been taken up.

The joint parliamentary committee in its report had pointed out the role of money power in politics and accepted in principle that the state be responsible for election expenses, if election is inevitable in democracy and this is the only way out. In the language of Advani, “To snap the
nexus which today binds political parties with black money a scheme of public funding should be introduced." He reported the demand in his presidential address in 1989. However only where candidates would be eligible. Vajpayee tested to have a National fund of Rs.500/- crores for the purpose.10

In the year 1986, Advani presented for electoral reforms, "for transparency in public life" viz -

(i) Opposed the provision of company donation endorsed by the Rajiv Government.
(ii) Application of electronic machine for voting.
(iii) Introduction of identity card to avoid fraud.
(iv) Cancellation of the poll in the booths.
(v) Reduction of voting age from 21 to 18.
(vi) Adherence to the model code of conduct. The opposition should also get the same privileges and immunities as a ruling party.
(vii) Constitutions of Multi-member election commission, state election officer should remain under the Election Commission. The Election Commissioner should not be appointed in any public office after superannuation.
(viii) To conduct Lok Sabha and Assembly election simultaneously since there was only two months difference.
(ix) Electronic Media should be autonomous, and for the time being it should be maintained by the Election Commission.
This points were repeated next year in Vijayawada Session as well as the Agra Session of 1988.

Another important point in the direction is compulsory voting. If half of the electorate do not cast their votes it is a mockery to democracy. This system was raised by Vajpayee in the first general session of the party in 1980.11

The BJP was also in favour of a multi-members election commission, as pointed out earlier and which was accepted by the government in 1993, with an intention to checkmate T.N.Seshan. The party favour the Goswami Report that the Chief Justice of India and the leaders of opposition in the Lok Sabha should be consulted for the appointment of Chief Election Commission and other commissions should be appointed in consulting with the Chief Election Commission.

The party fully backed in Dinesh Goswami Committee Report of 1990, which included legislative truth to the code of conduct drawn up by the Election Commission, and violation of which could be made a corrupt practice.12

Finally the election manifesto of 1998 assumed following point to be incorporated in a comprehensive electoral reform bill to ensure free, fair and fearless election.

(i) update and adopt the Goswami Committee Report.

(ii) Consider introducing a scheme for state funding of election expenses.
(iii) Undertake immediate delamination of Lok Sabha and Assembly constituency.

(iv) Make it mandatory for parties to submit audited accounts for public in security.

(v) Examine the feasibility of introducing the list system or mixed system of election.

(vi) Undertake the process of issuing multi purpose identity cards to all citizens and make it mandatory requirement for voting. Of late, the Government has constituted a committee on poll-funding on 28 July, 1998.
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3. BJP’s *Plenary Session*, Mumbai, P.15.
CORRUPTION AND CRIMINALISATION OF POLITICS

Corruption today spread all over the country. It was started from Congress regime to till today. No doubt the then government and the present government try to abolish it but still they are helpless. With regard to corruption and criminalisation of politics, so many example are there, which we have to analyse in this chapter.

The indifferent attitude of the government to cutting off the nexus between politicians and criminals gives rise to feeling to disgust. Criminals are running the parallel governments. They have also halted the government machinery. For several years Dawood Ibrahim and Memon brothers are engaged in vicious activities. They have spread their network wide.

As Vajpayee stated in his Presidential Address in 1983 that, "The government is helpless because it is corrupt. This system has become so vicious and powerful that it even determines our policies and distorts our planning." Vajpayee said, corruption in rich country may affect only the rich but in India it squeezes the poorest.

In 1986, the CBI had prepared a report about the nexus between the underworld and the Bombay police. Criminals, Mafia gangs have the protection of government and politicians in Bihar, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. As a result a paralleled economy has set in, which is threatening
the Indian economy. Money power of these Mafias is used to influence the bureaucrats and politicians. These facts have not emerged from the report of some newspaper, not it is a statement of some BJP leader. These are some of the issues which are parts of the report submitted by the then Union Home Secretary, N.N. Vohra appointed by the central government to find out the nexus between criminals and politicians.

The Assembly elections in the year 1995 is a key issue which made the people reject the Congress was the nexus between crime and politics. The Vohra committee report as discussed above highlighted how ‘Mafia Organisation’ have now begun to run almost a ‘parallel government’. This report was submitted more than two years back. But the then government had moved even an inch in pursuance of the recommendations of the committee.

Another instance of criminalisation of politics is Tandoor episode of a vast magnitude in the Parliament.

In Maharashtra, the report contains a number of assertions but it fails to identify the politicians and bureaucrats who protected the Mafia gang. The report mentions no name of politicians or bureaucrats or even Mafia gangs who were involved in criminal activities. Facts remain that several Chief Ministers are involved in protecting these Mafia groups directly. Ministers and Chief Ministers are Co-partners in their criminal and economic offences. During the CBI investigation, it had come out clearly that Dawood Ibrahim had been engaged in smuggling of gold, electronic
goods and arms for the last one decade. He had a tight grip over the police
and administration on the strength of his money power. He also had
influence in the crime-world to a great extent. He had developed a close
relation with the ISI, large qualities of arms, including RDX, AK-47 and
56 rifles were smuggled into India for spreading ISI net work. Dawood
was also involved in supplying money to the agents in various states through
Hawala transaction. He absconded to Dubai but his activities continued.
He was also involved in drug trafficking. It was alleged that Sarad Pawar
came to light during investigation of Bombay bomb blast case by the
accused who were arrested in the case.

Like that, in Uttar Pradesh, the Mulayam Singh government had given
protection to criminals. In his party more than 50 percent of the M.L.As
were criminals having history sheet in police records. Before Mulayam
Singh, during the period when Sanjay Gandhi held influence in the state,
known criminals joined the Congress through Youth Congress.
Criminalisation was boosted largely during the time of late Sanjay Gandhi.

Congress leaders often try to explain away corruption by describing
it as a ‘international phenomenon’. But where as all over the world
countries are cracking down on corruption and corrupt political leaders, in
India this venality continues to flourish.

The magnitude of corruption continues to increase with each passing
year. Bofors was all bout Rs.65 crores, The security scam was more than
hundred times that amount. The Vadodora National council passed
resolutions against the Gold Star Scandal allegation against captain Satish Sharma in relation to foreign funds maintained by them, the scandals rocking the petroleum ministry under Sri Jaffer Shariff, the land scams of Sri Sharad Pawar are only symptomatic of the moral debasement of the then ruling party.\textsuperscript{10}

The sugar scam is a glaring example of the incompetence and the naked corruption of the Congress government in inflicting a misery on the people of India wherein sugar is today available at an unprecedented price of Rs.17/- per Kg.\textsuperscript{11}

The unparalled dimension was the urea scam where money had been looted from public funds with no purchase received.\textsuperscript{12} Another unprecedented example was Sri Laloo Prasad Yadav for his leading role in Fodder Scam which has left the scamsters richer by more than Rs.2,000 crores.\textsuperscript{13}

It is unfortunate that, the party suffered a lot back in 1995, when some of its leaders including L.K.Advani were named in Hawala pay off scandal. Advani immediately resigned from Loksabha and would enter the Loksabha unless his name was cleared off. He kept his promise and returned to Loksabha only in 1998 when he was completely acquitted by the Court. Madanlal Khurana also immediately resigned from the office of Chief Minister the same year. This stand of cause indicated the insistence on transparency in public life. When there is complete erosion of values in political spectrum, the BJP as a principle as well as a perpetual behaviour
has largely demonstrated to restrain on this sensitive area. With regard to electoral process in India, L.K. Advani said, "The health of democracy is intimately linked up with the health of its poll process. In India, unfortunately, over the years election have been becoming costlier and costiler and increasingly more corrupt."

In the inaugural address in the National Executive meeting held at Jaipur November 1996, President Shri L.K. Advani said, "I call upon this National Executive to discuss and draw up a plan for sustained nationwide campaign against corruption in high places. The campaign must focus on three things."

One, it must emphasise the imperative of institutionalising maximum transparency and accountability in the governing structure, with minimum discretionary power for Ministers, Senior bureaucrats, MPs and MLAs. Far reaching administrative, political, legal reforms and decentralisation measures will be required to achieve this electoral reform, with special focus on public funding of elections measures to curb the generation of black money should be two important planks in this regard.

Two, those who misuse their power for personal enrichment must face deterrent punishment both in the due process of law but more importantly from internal action by the political party concerned. In other words, we must drastically reduce the incentive and simultaneously increase the disincentive, for people in political life to hanker after a place in the
ministry, legislature or parliament just because such a position become a passport for personal prosperity.

Three, The BJP must evolve new norms in so far as fund collection for the party is concerned. Every political party has legitimate expenses and these expenses are constantly rising even if we take all the necessary measures of fragility. There is nothing wrong if parties receives donations. So long as both the collection and expenditure are transparently accounted for and regularly audited. Since we, in politics are engaged in an honourable and socially essential activity, there is no reason for us to forge accounts. Indeed, by doing so we set a wrong example for other sections of society, thereby weakening our own moral authority to provide the right leadership to society.¹⁶

Dinanath Mishra in his article, “Massive criminalisation of politics”, describe “our judicial system is such that if the criminal has the blessings of a politician, he can safely assume that he commits no crime. All his acts are considered political activities.” It is increasingly getting difficult for the courts to convict political criminals.¹⁷

Adversaries of BJP have been trying to spoil the image of the BJP in the eye of the people by saying that if parties like congress, Janata Dal, Samajwadi party and Marxist party have criminals so has the BJP. They even try to dub such activities of the BJP as criminals, who happens to be arrested during some political campaign and were prosecuted for the same and they try to fabricate charges against these party workers. The motives behind it remains that, BJP should not have the good image of a party with difference. They are unable to stand as a respectable party amongst the disgraced ones.¹⁸
REFERENCES

CENTRE STATE RELATION

With regard to the internal problems where the role of BJP is very important is centre-state relation. Here BJP prefers strong centre but not an authoritarian government, which is corrupt.

Most of the major states of India which are relatively underdeveloped are too unwieldy for efficient administration and integrated planned development. The Indian experience is that, generally speaking, whenever big states were broken up and formed into smaller states development picked momentum. BJP strongly supports the demand for smaller viable states and will work for creating a consensus on the subject so that a smooth territorial transformation can take place.¹

The centre-state relation will always remain in tension, if the power is not further decentralised, from the states to the local bodies. BJP will work for a constitutional amendment which will guarantee protection to the local bodies against their arbitrary supersession by the state government and for financial and functional devolution of powers from the states. In this context BJP calls for a genuine national debate on the implementation of the Ashoka Mehta committee report on Panchayati Raj.²

The BJP is irrevocably committed to the ideal of strong united India. It is also committed to the view that the basic features of its constitution cannot be altered or destroyed by the use of amending powers of parliament. Again, it is opposed to the proposal made by some opposition parties that
the centre’s jurisdiction should be continued to just four subjects-Defence, External Affairs, Currency and Communication and that in all other matters the states should be autonomous. It is of opinion that a vast country like India needs regional government to administer its affairs and attend to its complex and varying problems.

The Sarkaria commission according to Advani, which had recently submitted a voluminous two parts report on the entire gamut of centre state relation has very highly noted that the tension between centre-state do not stem from the basic flow in the constitution. Again he says, “BJP had strongly pleaded that in order to enable states to discharge their developmental responsibilities satisfactorily, their revenue base requires to be substantially enlarged”. ⁴

Yet another important recommendation of the commission which merits immediate acceptance and implementation is creation of an interstate council under Article 263.⁵

To make centre-state relations more harmonious and in keeping with the spirit of federal polity, the BJP would include in its 1998 election manifesto which deals with-

(1) Immediately implement the recommendations of the Sarkaria commission.

(2) Consult state government before appointing governors and consider ways and means of preventing misuse of Raj Bhavans for political purposes.

(3) Increase allocation of resources to the states in real terms. This coupled with greater functional autonomy, can go a long way in making states stable, strong and prosperous. To achieve this end, BJP will-
(a) Increase the states share of gross proceeds of central tax revenues to 33 percent.

(b) Give adequate assistance to the states to lessen the burden imposed by the recommendations of the fifth pay commission.

(c) Allow states the freedom to raise funds by issuing tax-free bonds.

(d) Transfer external assistance to states on the same term and conditions on which it is received from external donors.

(e) Treat loans against small savings as loans in perpetuity.

(f) Increase plan assistance to states in real terms.

(4) Swiftly clear infrastructure projects in power, water and mineral sector. The Central Electricity Authority and Central Water Commission will function as consultancy organisations and not have any regulatory role in project clearance. \(^6\)
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1. Ahuja, G.M. *BJP and Indian Poliotics*, P.262.

2. *Our five commitment*, P.16.


5. *Ibid*.

6. “Vote for a Stable Government and an able Prime Minister”