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Title Page

Changing Circumstances

and

Bharatiya Jana Sangh

by

Balraj Madhok

Price 10 paise

Deepak Prakashan, New Delhi 1.

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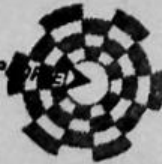
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Cover Page 2

Our beloved leader - Balraj Madhok

Birth: In Aaskardhu of Ladakh Sector in Kashmir State

in the year 1920.

Education: M.A. in History

- * Was a Head-Master in Srinagar (Kashmir) in D.A.V. College Took great part in the defence of Kashmir at the time of invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan. Your novel "Victory or Defeat" gives a lively picture of the incidents of Kashmir.
- * In 1948 established the Jammu-Kashmir Praja Parishad and afterwards along with Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji took part in establishing the Bharatiya Jana Sangh.
- * Has been the Professor for History in D.A.V. College, Delhi and at present is the Member of Parliament from New Delhi constituency.

Was the President of the All-India Bharatiya Jana Sangh in 1967.

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Inside Cover Page 3

Literary works by Prof. Madhok

1. Victory or Defeat (Novel)
2. India and the World
3. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji - Biography
4. India's foreign policy and other problems
5. Hindu Rashtra
6. Bharatiya Jana Sangh, a national platform

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To The Workers of Jana Sangh

Since the last few months attempts have been made to create doubts in the minds of Jana Sangh ~~about~~ workers about me by the speeches and behaviour of some of my colleagues and by articles published in the Jana Sangh recognised 'Agarna Ezar' and 'Panchjanya' by "Political Correspondents".

I replied to the first article published in the 'Panchjanya' as a letter to the Editor. 'Panchjanya' did the favour of publishing it. But in the 13th October issue, their 'Political Correspondent' wrote another long article which in itself is a conglomeration of lies as comments on my letter. In that article he has tried to tarnish my name by writing illogical and hated matters.

It is a known practise among Communists and other autocratic parties to indulge in 'character-assisination' of undesirable colleagues. It is a matter of grief that some friends in Jana Sangh have also adopted this practise. Whoever has written this article has shown his cheapness. In reply to this article I wrote yet another letter to the Editor of 'Panchjanya', but that puppet did not publish it. Some friends advised me to get it published elsewhere,

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but I did not consider it right to do so in the good interests of Jana Sangh. I would very much like the Jana Sangh workers themselves force the 'Panchjanya' to publish my letter so that the doubts that may have arisen in some workers may be cleared.

A recent speech of mine regarding the 'role' of Jana Sangh in the changing circumstances have been published in a booklet form mainly for the workers. I sincerely hope that the Jana Sangh workers shall deliberate upon this sincerely.

Balraj Madhok.

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Changing Circumstances

And

Bharatiya Jana Sangh

The country stands at crossroads in the real sense of it due to the drastic changes that have taken place in India's political life during the last one year and especially in the last four months. It will be ~~decided~~ decided in a few months what will be the shape not only of India's politics but also its whole future. From this viewpoint, the fast-paced incidents happening in India's political life nowadays have a special significance not only to the Congress Party but also to all people in India and all political parties.

Congress Split

The split in Congress could not be avoided. This should have happened a long time ago. Mahatma Gandhi immediately after India's independence gave the good

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advice of dissolving the Congress and forming parties according to their ideology from among the Congressmen. This was his last will. Had his advice been taken, two big political parties under the leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Nehru would have been formed. If this had happened democracy in India would have been strengthened and the numerous splinter parties that were formed afterwards may not have come into existence at all. These two parties would differ as much as Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru did. Pandit Nehru was forefront among those who could be called as Macaulay's ideal person. In his own words, by the accident of birth he was a Hindu, culturally a Musulman and from the viewpoint of education a Britisher. He was more of an internationalist than a nationalist. In internal affairs he was either a dictator or a communalist. On one hand he was talking of fraternity among the citizens of the world and on the other hand to get Muslim votes was in the forefront to create a feeling of communalism and separatism among them. If he was allowed to have a say in the matter, the territory of Hyderabad would have been created as a miniature Pakistan amidst India today.

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Nehruism Versus Patelism

In foreign policies his intention was to get the title of 'Messenger of Peace' for himself. At the cost of India's welfare, he sent doves of peace. He gave Tibet in the hands of Chinese Communist Agents and lay open the northern boundary of India to invasions. It can be said to be the quirk of fate that his desire to secure the 'Noble Peace Prize' was not fulfilled. Soviet Russia was his ideal for financial affairs and the slogan of socialism was imprinted badly in his brain. Due to the ~~untruthful~~ untruthful financial policies he undertook in the name of socialism even after 20 years hunger and unemployment has increased several folds in India.

As against this Sardar V. P. Patel who was a true nationalist like Lokmanya Tilak and Lala Lajpatrai followed truthful financial policies. So far as external affairs were concerned his views were totally diametric to Pandit Nehru's. His letter to Pandit Nehru about Tibet matter from his deathbed is a glowing example. Due to his demise in 1950 the sure struggle between the followers of Nehru and the followers of Patel were aver-

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averted and Nehruji's influence spread all over Congress.

So long as Congress remained as the only road to power, Congress remained united. Setting aside ideological differences, all Congressmen (including those who agreed ~~xxx~~ with Nehru or not) stayed in Congress. Taking advantage of their lust for power Pandit Nehru pushed Congress towards the left and had resolutions passed accordingly by the Congress Working Committee. But he could not put them into practice. The reason for this is that Pandit Nehru was an impractical socialist. His main intention was to remain in power and for this purpose like the British Prime Minister Waalpole adopted the policy "Let the sleeping dogs lie".

Lessons for other parties

After the 1967 general elections, on one side Congress's only stranglehold on power was destroyed and on the other side a woman in the form of Smt. Indira Gandhi took the Prime Minister's seat in place of her father. She had neither her father's good qualities nor any love or respect towards the unity of the Congress organisation which her father had.

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In reality making Smt. Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister has been the biggest mistake of the Congress leaders. The only quality of Indira Gandhi is that she is the daughter of Pandit Nehru otherwise her contribution to the consolidation and running of the Congress is next to nothing. The Syndicate which she is cursing now day and night is the same Syndicate which put her in the front to stop Shri Morarji Desai from becoming Prime Minister. The intention of the Syndicate leaders especially Shri Kamaraj's was that the Prime Minister should be a person who would be their puppet. Morarjibhai would never be anybody's puppet. Therefore to defeat him Indira Gandhi was put in the forefront. At that time these leaders of the Syndicate because of their own selfishness did not care about the country's welfare which demanded a strong and good Prime Minister and now Indira Gandhi to further her ends and needs is murdering them and the country. This circle of events is a lesson to the other political parties. If the leaders of the party to further their own needs and ends try to control their parties through puppets, then ultimately the puppets will destroy the party.

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Although the split in Congress today is based on personal enmity and the clash of egos of various leaders, the ideological differences will also be very soon revealed. This pattern started with the opinion of ~~Nijjan~~ Nijalingappa's Congress on the Rabat issue. Their reaction to the Rabat issue is the same as that that would have been of Sardar Patel, had he been alive. Similarly the Presidential Speech delivered by Shri Nijanlingappa at the Congress Convention at at Faridabad is dissimilar to Smt. Indira Gandhi's marxist socialist views on financial policies.

The main difference between these two groups is revealed in their nationalism and attitude towards Communists. The Nijanlingappa group will swerve towards nationalism and will be opposed to Communists while Indira Gandhi will become a prisoner of Communists and Soviet Union and to keep her throne safe and secure, will take more and more help from communalists.

Ordinarily nationalist parties like Jana Sangh will sympathise and will have common cause with nationalist and Patel-type people while communalistic parties like Muslim league and Communists will be with the Nehru-type Indira Congress. The movements on this pattern have already started taking place and will be on the increase in the days ahead. By virtue of its position as a leading nationalist party

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the Jana Sangh will have to take active steps to start this movement. If due to some wrong notions the Jana Sangh decides to stay separate then not only Jana Sangh will suffer a loss but the nationalist elements in the country themselves will suffer in general and the communist and anti-national powers will strengthen their hold on the nation's politics.

From this viewpoint the new circumstances give a new opportunity as well as a challenge to the Jana Sangh. In reality this is not the first opportunity that has come Jana Sangh's way. Before this in two years we have lost two opportunities.

In the general elections of 1967 the masses gave very strong support to the Jana Sangh and put the Jana Sangh in a powerful position. If this opportunity had been properly utilised and no coalition government had been formed with the Communists by the Jana Sangh then the prestige and power of the Jana Sangh would ~~would~~ automatically have increased and all nationalist elements would naturally swerve towards it. But the Jana Sangh suffered a great loss due to this small mistake and in the mid-term election in 1969 instead of marching forward, we went backwards.

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In the State of Bihar when inspite of being in the government, the Jana Sangh opposed firmly the Communalists and Communists, proved an ~~an~~ exception and the Jana Sangh marched forward to some extent.

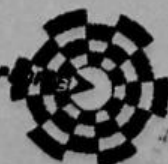
The second opportunity arose during the Presidential election. If Shri Sanjiva Reddy had won then part of the credit of his success would have come to the Jana Sangh and a situation would have arisen when the national politics could have been tuned conducive to the Jana Sangh. But due to our hesitant policy and unnecessary delay in giving clear instructions this result could not be obtained. Instead of taking a decision in such matters firmly, remaining indecisive in the name of power politics does not benefit anybody.

Jana Sangh has now got the third opportunity. If this opportunity is also missed, it will prove fatal to both the party and country.

Some people ask ~~how~~ how our party has anything common with Swatantra Party or Nijalingappa Congress, since both these parties are reactionaries and Capitalist. But they forget that the people whose reaction we are worried of consider Jana Sangh to be more reactionary

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than the other two parties.

Today the question is not what the so-called progressive parties and their newspapers say, but the question is what is good for the country and the Jana Sangh under today's circumstances.

At present Smt. Indira Gandhi has the support of all those elements and parties who are anti-national, communal and who weaken the Centre. Soviet Russia has become the guide to her and her colleagues. In the name of Marxist Socialism and secularism, they are making India the slave of communist-Muslim League alliance. They are in strict enmity with the Jana Sangh. If it were possible Smt. Indira Gandhi would kill all Jana Sangh people where even water is not available. Therefore it is not in the country's interest or the Jana Sangh's benefit to allow her to succeed.

It is true the Opposition Congress, the Swatantra Party and other nationalist parties and individuals differ from the Jana Sangh in some respects but in economic and social affairs although there is slight difference between them, ~~the~~ two qualities are

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common to all of them. Namely all are Nationalist and democratic and therefore understand the ~~mechan~~ mechinations of the Communists and wish to save the country from the Communists. Therefore we can cooperate with them.

If the Jana Sangh was very strong the pace of its progress so fast that it alone could capably face the situation. Even then it would be intelligent if it went along with elements having similar views as theirs. But is the Jana Sangh in this position today? Unfortunately the absence of tolerance and political acumen shown by the Jana Sangh leaders in the last two years, not only the people outside Jana Sangh, but the people like me who have ~~long~~ tended the Jana Sangh Sapling with their blood and sweat right from its birth, are disappointed. It is futile to think that the Jana Sangh alone on its own strength will be capable of repairing the ~~frankly~~ fast-paced damaging situation in the country. It is also illusory and wrong to think that Jana Sangh's image will be impaired by joining with these parties. Jana Sangh did not take birth as a Socialist party

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nor is it a Socialist party. It is only a people's party and an Indian party.

The wellbeing of the masses demand that the production in the country increases and everybody is able to make a living. This is not possible with the so-called Socialistic economy. To achieve this it is necessary for the financial resources to be consolidated, more healthy competition and in the matter of productive materials, the cordial relationship should be shown towards the producer. It is not only bad for the ~~fi~~ economic power to rest with people like Tata or Birla but it is fatal for the economic strength to rest with the State. The monopoly of Tata or Birla can be fought against, but not the monopoly of the State. It will never be acceptable to the Jana Sangh for economic power being centered in the hands of the State in the name of Socialism and encouragement given to governmental capitalism like the nationalisation of banks. There- the Jana Sangh is on principles against blind nationalisation. We have said in our "Policy & Principle" ~~and~~ in our speech letters very clearly

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that the government should enter the financial sector only if it is essential for the wellbeing of the people and it should come not as a monopoly but as a competitor in the financial sector. The wellbeing of the people lies in competitive economy not in monopolistic economy. Our intention should be to bring welfare and good to the people, not to bring in socialism.

This does not at all mean that the Jana Sangh wishes to be static. Jana Sangh wishes a social change, but this change should be brought about by democratic and peaceful methods and it should also be seen that in the name of social change we should not cut those very roots which have kept India and Indian Hindu society alive. There is difference between one change and the other. One change is that which the Communist and their fellow-travellers wish to bring about and the other change is that which Jana Sangh wishes to bring about. Their differences should be understood and we must stay ourselves from the mistake of misunderstanding.

From the practical point of view we should remember that there are many in this country who sing in praise of the so-called socialism. Those who are

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appealed by ~~in~~ their slogans and programme will split their votes among them. But there are also other persons in our country like the small farmer, shopkeeper, people engaged in small and cottage industry, they are more than 50%, who abhor the illusory ~~in~~ slogans of such so-called ~~Socialists~~ Socialists. They have also a part in the country's life and are also voters. It is these people who are the backbone of the Jana Sangh.

Even otherwise to adopt the Communist slogans and phrases is wrong. To think that without socialistic economy the country's poverty cannot be removed is only to cheat ourselves. Socialistic economy of the type of Soviet Russia has not till now made Russia self-sufficient in food grains although Russia's population is not even half of India's and their land acreage is 60 times more than India's. India will be completely sunk with such an economy. Not only the finance of the country will not improve but democracy will be destroyed and ~~the~~ dictatorship will take its place. This has started now.

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Eugolising Indira and the misuse of the propaganda and publicity instruments like AIR are links to this road.

It is very essential that Bharatiya Jana Sangh does not lose its own special entity in a desire to be called progressive. Whatever we may do, so far as we have intimate relations with Rashtriya Seva Sangh, nobody will be inclined to call us as a Socialist Party. Therefore our condition should not be that of a crow who in the desire to be a peacock does not remain even a crow. This crime will be unpardonable.

It is also necessary for Bharatiya Jana Sangh to consider democracy not merely as a slogan but as a way of life. Democracy is not a mode of rule, but it is a way of life. Tolerance and freedom of thought are the life of democracy. In the name of administration to destroy independence of thought and to disregard democratic conventions and rules within the party itself cannot be said to be of service to democracy. It is essential that we should put into practice whatever we preach.

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Jana Sangh's greatest strength and special quality are its true nationalism. Since Jana Sangh is nationalistic it is strongly opposed to those parties and elements whose affiliations are outside the country. This is the reason and the base for Jana Sangh to oppose Communist and Muslim League. For political convenience if Jana Sangh shows leniency in this matter, it will lose its truly national character.

Secondly, since Jana Sangh is nationalist, therefore it is also the supporter of Hinduism. It is impossible even to imagine India without a foundation of Hindu culture. But this does not mean that ~~it~~ ~~ex~~ Jana Sangh is opposed to Muslims. Jana Sangh has never considered the principle of two countries. The Muslims just like the Hindus are part of the country. But they will have to establish this by their ~~behaviour~~ behaviour that they love India and its culture, which is the first step to be a true nationalist. This is the meaning of Indianisation of such Muslims. It is a matter of great satisfaction that people like Shri Mohamed Karim Chagla and Shri Hamind Dalwai, who are not only true Indians but also wish to Indianise those Muslims who are still under the influence of

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Muslim League. Such persons should be encouraged. As nationalists gain strength, the strength of such persons among Muslims will also increase. Therefore the solution to the Muslim problem is that the Bharatiya Jana Sangh should stay steadfast to their principles and in the desire to get Muslim votes should not show any type of leniency.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh is mainly an organization of workers. Therefore the ordinary workers of Jana Sangh should deliberate seriously on the changing circumstances and Jana Sangh's role in it. The task before the workers in a democratic organization should be not only to obey the orders but also to guide the leaders. It has been seen very often that the leaders after some time become a victim to political convenience, and their fertile brains give excuses for such adjustments. But no growing party can march forward in this way. Like individuals, parties have also at some times to take bold and dangerous steps. One who tries to evade such a decision always marks time only.

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Therefore it is the duty of the workers of
the Jana Sangh to be wide awake and not only
in the obedience of rules but also extend their
active support to the leadership.

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