

**BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY  
IN HIMACHAL PRADESH :  
1982 - 1992**

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award of the Degree of  
**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled "Bharatiya Janata Party in Himachal Pradesh : 1982-1992" submitted by Meenakshi Pathak in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M.Phil.) has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other university. This is her own work.

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# HIMACHAL PRADESH ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS 1991



SOURCE — CENSUS OF INDIA — 1991, SERIES - 9,  
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## PREFACE

This study deals with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in the particular context of Himachal Pradesh. In this study the organisation, leadership, electoral performance, governmental performance, success and failure of the Bharatiya Janata party as a part of the competitive political process has been analysed, in the light of two party system. Himachal Pradesh is the only state in the country which has developed a bi-party system. The two parties of consequence in the state are the Congress(I) and the Bharatiya Janata Party. BJP is a party with a history of just 14 years. Very less research has been done on this party in general and in the special context of Himachal Pradesh.

On Himachal Pradesh too, very less research has been done. The reason why I chose BJP as my research topic firstly was BJP came to power from 1990-1992 in Himachal Pradesh, first time without the help of any other party. Though it had an alliance with Janata Dal , BJP had the major chunk of seats in the Vidhan Sabha i.e. 44 seats out of total 68 seats. Secondly, in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, one reason for the rise of BJP was the communal policies of the party, but in Himachal Pradesh, the Hindutva wave was missing, then why did BJP come to power in Himachal?. The sudden rise of the party with a

limited social base interested me to choose BJP as a research topic.

This dissertation has seven chapters. Chapter I, deals with a general introduction to political parties and review of literature on political parties in general and the BJP in particular. Chapter II deals with the Profile of Himachal Pradesh. It was necessary to give the profile of the state to situate BJP in the specific context.

Chapter III deals with Bhartiya Janata Party in general. A brief background of Bhartiya Jana Sangh (predecessor of BJP) is also given in this chapter. The ideology and Organisation of Bharatiya Jana Sangh and Bharatiya Janata Party has been dealt in detail in this chapter.

Chapter IV deals with the development and growth of BJP in Himachal Pradesh from 1980 to 1989. The role of BJP as an opposition party during this period has been analysed.

In the next chapter, The politics of BJP, in power has been dealt with. It's policies and programmes and their implementation has been discussed in this chapter.

Chapter VI has a detailed description of the Assembly elections of 1993. Last but not the least, is the conclusion, explaining why BJP came to power and why it went out of power in Himachal Pradesh.



The absence of regional Political parties, the role of caste and pressure group in the politics of Himachal Pradesh have been analysed in the last chapter.

The major sources of information were the interviews with leaders and voters, party publications, newspaper articles, articles in various journals and magazines and by compiling and interpreting data.

This study is an attempt to understand the dynamic nature of Bharatiya Janata Party in Himachal Pradesh.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Political parties constitute the life line of modern politics. They are today regarded as one of the most enduring instrument of man's political aim. No modern state, whatever the political system under which it operates, has functioned without them. Political parties are today seen as a symbol of political modernity, as power dams and steel mills are conceived of by political elites in the developing areas as symbol of economic modernity.<sup>1</sup>

Parties are the central intermediary structures between society and government. They are one of the most salient and universal features of political life in the 20th century and try to reflect the society in miniature. The existence of political parties is common to both the developing and developed political systems, irrespective of the fact whether they are democratic, totalitarian or authoritative.<sup>2</sup> On the question, why political parties exist at all, Jean Blondel points out that there is no need for parties if everyone agrees on everything. Parties are more likely to exist where many members of the society perceive the existence of social conflicts and also perceive these conflicts to be large and long-standing i.e. why parties do not emerge in traditional societies, as the elders used to take all the decisions. For parties to emerge there must be

large social conflicts.<sup>3</sup>

The phenomenon of political parties is a relatively recent development. In ancient times, political parties as we know them today were nowhere in evidence though powerful interests did wield political power directly or indirectly. It is only with the dawn of the age of rationalism and in the wake of the technological innovation ushered in by the industrial revolution that vast societal changes have taken place in the short space of a little over two centuries, with momentous consequences for political power and political organisation. A party is only formed when some individuals want to change the social structure, achieve more power for themselves or the group to which they belong or develop the country economically or socially.<sup>4</sup>

The rise of industrial capitalism which signalled the demise of old feudal order heralded the advent of modern political party. In the industrial society large number of working class emerged. These working classes had to be accommodated in the decision making process.<sup>5</sup> According to Duverger the development of parties seems bound up with that of democracy i.e. to say with the extension of popular suffrage and parliamentary prerogatives.<sup>6</sup>

Parties are the political force that had emerged to make democracy workable in its indirect form when its classical order had become unworkable in mass societies of today. They

serve as firm foundations of representative democracy. Parties provide a stable basis for the majority principle in democracy and make it legitimate and realizable.<sup>7</sup> The existence of political parties is common to both developed and developing countries. Role of political parties in developing areas is more as the main aspect of political development; national integration, political participation, legitimacy and the management of conflict are closely related to political parties.<sup>8</sup>

Many political thinkers have talked of partyless democracy expressed in the grassroots sharing of power by people, on the basis of consensus and in the spirit of cooperation, may be a laudable goal to strive but the immediate feasibility of such a system is not quite evident and political parties seem, for the present to be the most convenient vehicle of mobilisation of popular support in a vast electorate.

After having discussed the importance of political parties and their inevitability for a democratic government, the question that arises in our minds is what exactly do we mean by a political party. A wide and comprehensive definition of the term is given by Lapalombara and Myron Weiner in their edited book - "Political Parties and Political Development".

"A political party is an identifiable group of persons, in a given society who organise themselves on a stable basis, with a purpose of exercising political power in order to achieve what they perceive to be the goals of that society. Further they also try to legitimize themselves by acquiring the support of the largest section of the given society."<sup>9</sup>

The parties have to perform certain specific functions like political socialisation, interest articulation, interest aggregation, political communication, recruitment, political education etc., while facing the crises like legitimacy penetration, participation and integration. These problems in a large way are faced by parties in developing countries which are characterised by religious differences, low literacy, traditional and modern group conflicts etc. Parties contribute to the development of political process by solving these problems.

## I

Many scholars have tried to form a theory of political parties. One of the pioneering works, which represents the first attempt at systematic comparative analysis of political system is of M. Ostrogorski.<sup>10</sup> The main theme of his two volume work is the analysis of the general traits of democratic mass parties. Since access to office is the basic *raison d'etre* for a political party, parties tend to

subordinate any worthy end that conflicts with gaining or retaining power. He noted with much detail that organisations are not democratic reflections of popular will but powerful instruments for dominating electorate and imposing opinion on public. He recommends replacing general parties with temporary single issue parties, as they could supply by the very force of their constitution and their object a sort of innovation against party rabies and sectarian fanaticism, they would become schools of tolerance and broad mindedness.<sup>11</sup>

M. Duverger wrote "Political Parties : their organisation and activity in modern state"<sup>12</sup> with the aim of sketching a preliminary general theory of parties which serves as a basis and guide for detailed studies. Parties developed simultaneously with electoral and parliamentary process. His empirical organisation and working of a political party shows the role of several inner circles termed as caucuses, from which the difference between democratic, fascist and communist variants of political parties can be identified. He divides the parties into two on the basis of membership cadre and mass parties which puts the Communist parties under cadre parties. Communist Parties may refute Duverger's interpretation on the ground that it is a people's party and its ultimate purpose is to replace bourgeois democracy with peoples democracy. His division of

party system on the basis of number of parties is of traditional style i.e. one party, bi party and multiparty system. The internal structure of the party is divided into four, the caucus, branch, cell and militia.

The internal structure is essentially autocratic and oligarchic. The mass of electors is dominated by small groups of members and militants itself subordinated to ruling bodies of the parties.<sup>13</sup> Michels expressing similar views, agrees that the principal cause of oligarchy in democratic parties is the technical indispensability of the leadership.

Regarding developing countries he wrote "In countries where the standard of living and education of the people are still much inferior, the parties are formal in character and rival factors struggle for power, using the voters as a soft dough to be kneaded as they will, corruption develops and the privileged classes take advantage of the situation to prolong their control. Under certain conditions the single party may provide a first organisation of the masses enabling them gradually to acquire some political training.<sup>14</sup> This situation fits into the Indian situation very well. The country had a single party dominant system. The real significance of political party according to him is that they tend to create new elites. "The formula of government of the people, by the people and for the people

must be replaced by government of the elite, by the elite, sprung from the people"<sup>15</sup> To him democracy is threatened by the present day trends in the party's internal organisation, the trends of military, religious and totalitarian form that they assume.<sup>16</sup> In India also, such trends of military, religious and totalitarian forms in the parties are threatening democracy in the country.

Robert Michels in his book "Political Parties"<sup>17</sup> is concerned mainly with the undemocratic nature of the parties and democracy, oligarchy and party and organisation of the party. It is the organisation which gives birth to the domination of the elected over the mandators, of the delegates over the delegator. "Who says organisation, says oligarchy."<sup>18</sup> Men have acted as dictators in the mask of democracy and have made politics as a profession forgetting the democratic values. Michel's concern in the large part of the book is, with the way leaders take advantage of the incompetence and emotionality of their followers to hold on to power and become a defacto oligarchy. Leaders give their power only to new leaders and not to the masses.

Michel conceived of an ideal party as a purely ideological group, open only to those who share the goals of the founding members and identify their interests with the original conception of the interests of the group. His ideal party was elitist. In his book he developed the Iron law of



oligarchy. He traces the oligarchic tendencies in political organisations and the oligarchic leadership in democratic countries is also discussed. Michels, Ostrogorski and Duverger were all of the view that leadership of parties naturally tends to assume oligarchic form.

Giovanni Sartori in his book "Parties and Party Systems"<sup>19</sup> deals with different types of party systems the origin of parties and what they are for. The notable feature of his classification of party system is that he mentions several sub varieties within one party system and differentiates two party system and multiparty system on the basis of pluralism and atomism.<sup>20</sup> The basic cornerstone of his classification is the real participation in power i.e. competition. Giving the example of India he writes that a predominant party system can result from an excess of fragmentation of all the other parties. The rules for counting the parties are based on multipartism in general on two criteria. whether a party has a coalition potential and/or whether it has a blackmail potential.<sup>20</sup> Parties to him are expressive instruments which provide for something that no poll or machine can supply i.e. transit demands backed by pressure.

Myron Weiner and Joseph Lapalombora<sup>21</sup> relate political development with political parties, as political parties are the main force behind the development of the social economic

and political society. The main function of the political parties is to aggregate and to articulate the interests of the people and involve them in the political recruitment.<sup>22</sup> Competitive party system seems to materialise naturally and logically in societies where the pressure to create party organisation was initially felt in legislatures. They divide competitive parties into turnover, hegemonic, ideological and pragmatic parties and non competitive parties into one party authoritarianism one party pluralistic, one party totalitarianism. They are of the view that one party pluralistic pattern may also suggest a fruitful means for dealing with the persistence of traditional values and the problem of traditional elites in many of the emerging nations.

The one party pluralistic alternative may suggest the ways and means whereby these structures can be peacefully harnessed to the task of economic development and in the process contribute to the entrenchment of some newer but nevertheless vigorous form of democratic pluralism. The future of parties depend on how successful they and their governments are coping with the crises<sup>23</sup> of political development. Strong leadership is necessary for a party, which leads to oligarchic tendencies in the party.

Eldersveld<sup>24</sup> gives a behavioural analysis of political parties while Blondel<sup>25</sup> trying to formulate a theory for

political parties discusses the reasons of the rise of political parties, its functions, types leadership and membership etc. Neumann's<sup>26</sup> book is a collection of articles on political parties of various countries.

A political system is a dynamic concept. It develops from tradition to modernity. In the process of evolution it faces certain crises like legitimacy, integration and participation and penetration. Every political system must resolve these problems in order to achieve stability and equilibrium. No party can function in such a way so as to jeopardise the stability and equilibrium of not only the political system but also that of the entire society. Therefore, parties are genuine phenomenon in both totalitarian and democratic political system, whether the nations are in the category of developed or developing nations. Strong national parties play an important role in providing stable and legitimate government and often in laying the foundations for national integration.

In societies of mass franchise, if a party is to satisfy the personal ambition of its elite, it must obtain the votes necessary to give it power and to do this it must appeal to the people on the basis of platform and ideology, while it may originate as an organisation designed to acquire power for its elite. A party necessarily and perhaps imperceptibly becomes an agent of social development.

## II

The role nature and functions of political parties are influenced by the environment within which they operate. They are not only product of the environment but also influence them tremendously. The role of parties vary considerably in developed and developing countries. In the West, they are primarily considered as representative institutions, a means of ensuring peaceful and regular change of government through periodical election. In developing and traditional societies they play a more positive role. In such societies, the incoherence between the society, the polity and the economy are of tremendous magnitude and as such the parties play a more challenging role. The political system not only has to legitimate itself, but also has to bring about desirable social and economic changes.

The relevance of political parties and party system in India is highlighted by the fact that India is primarily a developing country which has opted for a parliamentary form of government on British model. In developing countries with low levels of social integration and the burden of accumulated backwardness, the critical problems of combining democracy with stability and an adequate developmental effort has given rise to a debate on the merits of a competitive politics in nation building. In the circumstances of developing societies the survival of a

democratic party is facilitated by the exercise of restraint in mutual opposition and to circumscribe their competition without interfering with the process of integration through participation.<sup>27</sup>

Democratic governments have pyramidal structures with wide base and narrow tops. The democratic government rests on a broad consensus concerning general social aims and its institutional arrangements provide for participation in the decision making process by representatives of the people. As such it becomes imperative in a democratic political system that continuous relationship be established between the leaders and followers.

Parties therefore work for the enhancement of political participation which is necessary for the functioning of healthy democratic institutions in a country. The major effort in operating a democratic system is directed towards harmonizing the many diverse claims to a share in power.

"The constitution of India recognises and accepts the right of the people to participate actively in the governance of the country. This participation in public affairs has to be on an organised basis. Thus political parties as organised media for the conduct of public affairs plays a vital role in the parliamentary set up .... In the process of mobilizing and influencing political forces for action,

parties also tend to develop their own organisation and rules of conduct. When they have reached some sort of substantial stability the organisational set up of the parties compares favourably with any well organised government bureaucracy."<sup>28</sup>

The emergence and working of party system in India is conditioned by the historical situation of the movement which proceeds from tradition to modernity. In the course of development and transformation the parties and party system are bound to face numerous problems that are characteristic features of this evolution. Due to historical reasons in India, the basic requisites of a democracy were in existence prior to the political independence. Political associations started functioning from the closing decades of 19th century. They were not, however the integral part of the democratic system but were mainly engaged in the struggle for national liberation. The party system in India in the pre-independence years was characterised by an "identifiable centre" which was represented by the Indian National Congress. It was the only party which developed nation wide organisation and leaders.<sup>29</sup> With the achievement of freedom they became active institutions of representative government and adopted objectives in accordance with the new role they assumed. The political ferment in the first four years of independence had generated a highly conducive climate for mass production of parties.<sup>30</sup>

The contemporary party system developed originally in the context of the struggle for freedom and since 1950 within the framework of parliamentary government, both these environments have exerted their influence on present character and structure of political parties.<sup>31</sup> The origin of political parties in India lies in the process of social and political modernisation now at work for well over hundred years. The identification of the freedom movement with the Indian National Congress made the latter the dominant entity in Indian politics. It remained a composite movement permitting the co-existence within its ranks of socially distant and ideologically diverse elements held together by their commitment to the national objective of independence.

The political leadership of Independent India was inherited from the freedom movement. Its continuity was characteristic not only of the Congress but also of all the other parties. On the continuum of political parties one finds a prolific diversity and pluralism which reflects the diversity and pluralism of Indian society. The survival of myriads of political parties, groups, view points on the India political scene testified the basic tenacity of pluralistic factors which range from local and regional consideration to social, economic and ideological differentia.<sup>32</sup>

The Congress claimed to represent all sections of the Indian society and as it tried to be broad based it developed an organisation of its own which had to go down to the grassroots which is an asset for it even today.<sup>33</sup> Stanley Kochanek expresses similar views in his book, "The Congress Party in India". "The diversity of Congress leadership and the party's ability to aggregate the demands of a highly differentiated base have been an indispensable source of Congress strength".<sup>34</sup> Many parties like the Socialist party, Bharatiya Lok Dal, Bhaartiya Kisan Dal and Janata party have emerged from the Congress party. The Indian political system has shown wide fluctuations and is still in flux. In India,<sup>7</sup> distinct stages of the party system can be pointed out.

1. 1952-67 Single party dominant system, the dominance of the party attributed to weak political parties, nation wide base and role in freedom movement.
2. 1967-71 Proved a setback to the pattern of Congress dominance in India, competitiveness increased, defections and dissidence were the feature of the Congress party. Post 1967 period was typified by intense factionalism within the party and coalition politics which together



created instability within the political system.<sup>35</sup>

3. 1971-77 Reestablishment of the Congress dominance in 1971 Lok Sabha Polls Congress ascendancy in the Indian party system was strengthened by declaration of emergency from 1975-77.
4. 1977-80 In 1977 elections were held, new party alliances emerged in the Indian party system, Janta Party (a 5 party alliance) was formed to provide an alternative to Congress, causing a set back to the Congress.
5. 1980-89 Marked by Congress dominance. In 1984 with the death of Mrs. Gandhi the question of Congress leadership rose and the vacuum in the leadership was filled by Rajiv Gandhi who won the election with a landslide victory.
6. 1989-91 National Front came to power in 1989. Internal fights were its main features in a time period of one year the country saw two Prime Ministers and the parliament was dissolved and fresh elections held.
7. 1991 - The elections brought Congress (I) to powers.

The trend after 1989 is likely to replace the phase of one party dominant system. India has evolved a multiparty system which accounts for the competitive political process in the country.

Opposition parties like the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Communist Party of India, Janata Dal have tried their best to woo voters to their side. They used all the traditional and modern means of mobilizing the public, but could not succeed to the extent of forming a government at the centre. Horst Hartman is of the view that all political parties in India try to mobilise the traditional power structure. They use caste and subcaste as a base for winning the elections.<sup>36</sup>

Indian political parties are critically dependent on towering individuals for their survival and growth and Indian society is not able to produce and sustain an opposition party capable of taking over the task of governing the country. According to Hartman Indian society is inherently incapable of sustaining the Westminster model of Parliamentary democracy, if this implies the existence of two parties of nearly equal strength, so that the task of running the government, if the ruling party fails to deliver the goods and for feits popular support.<sup>37</sup> Hartman in his book "Political Parties" describes how they developed their organisation and how they portray themselves in the context of Indian Politics.

Atul Kohli in his book<sup>37</sup> describes four major factors influencing the nature of political change in India.

- (1) The deinstitutionalizing role of national and regional leaders.
- (2) The impact of weak political parties.
- (3) The undisciplined political mobilization of various caste, ethnic, religious and other types of groups.
- (4) Increasing conflicts between the haves and have-nots in the civil society.<sup>38</sup>

Atul Kohli agrees with Sirsikar and Fernandes<sup>39</sup>, that the Congress has lost its elan, the organisational ability of the Congress has declined and popular new parties have failed to fill in the vacuum. Weak political institutions have encouraged undisciplined political competition and that has politicised all types of social divisions including caste, class and ethnic cleavages. The Bharatiya Janata Party and both the Communist parties of India, Janta Dal etc. have less of a nation wide appeal than a party like Congress (I) which has a broad base. Though BJP has shown a good electoral performance but its performance during 1989-91 Lok Sabha elections, was not sufficient, to bring it to the centre of power in India. BJP is making every effort to become a significant all India political formation, but its social constituency does not have in an all Indian manner.

One of the pioneers in the study of political parties, Myron Weiner. In his book "Party Building in a new nation"<sup>40</sup> deals with the study of one party ie., the Congress. The Congress is primarily concerned with recruiting members and winning support. It does not mobilise, it aggregates. It does not seek to innovate, it seeks to adapt. Most Congressmen are concerned with winning<sup>3576</sup>Helections<sup>41</sup> He made a detailed examination of how the Congress party has acquired the organisational skill for staying in power in five districts in different parts of India.

Craig Baxter's "Jana Sangh : A biography of an Indian Political Party"<sup>42</sup> is a detailed analysis of the party. Bhartiya Jana Sangh enjoys a unique position among the national political parties in India. It is the only party of the right which has a strong organisation and a cadre to support it. It tries to keep roots deep in the soil of traditional Hinduism while idealistically looking forward to a modern and open society.<sup>43</sup>

Geeta Puri writes about Jana Sangh concentrating on its Delhi Organisation, ideology, performance and leadership.<sup>44</sup> If RSS becomes a full fledged party it will definitely pave the way for introducing clarity in the political life of the country and absolve itself to the change of back seat political driving.<sup>45</sup> RSS gave its full support to Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS), which played a negligible role in

harnessing the national traditions either of the ancient polity or of the recent reformist positions of the late twelve century and early twentieth century nationalists for the regeneration of creative and purposeful nationalism based on secular democracy. On the contrary Jana Sangh contributed its ideological and organisational mite in sustaining and strengthening those Indian cultural traditions, to reestablish, at one time which has been largely displaced. The profound and almost ceaseless appeal of the nostalgic past of the Hindus compelled the party to place great emphasis on national unity and strength, support for Hinduism as a cohesive force and support for Hindi as a common language.<sup>46</sup>

Mobilization undertaken by parties needs an organisation. Most importantly, well organised parties tend to have long term programmes and stable core of membership to support these programmes. Duverger laid great stress on the need for a strong organisation. Bharatiya Janata Party has a great supporter in RSS (Rashtriya Swayam Sevak) which also helps in mobilising the public for the programmes and policies of the party RSS (Rashtriya Swayam Sevak) is the backbone of the party. Anderson and Damle<sup>47</sup> give a detailed analysis of the organisation, ideology and politics of the saffron brotherhood. The revival of Hinduism is what joins them. The political organ of the RSS ie. BJP is so much

dependent on it for cadres that without its support it would be impossible for them to survive. RSS is a well organised, disciplined organisation with a widespread network.

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which came into existence in 1980 has done electorally well in the politics of the country. BJP was restricted mainly to North but recently it has made inroads into the Communist dominated West Bengal and also the South. BJP is restricted by the narrowness of its base and Congress beats the BJP on this front. BJP has come a long way from 2 seats in the parliamentary election of 1982 to 119 seats in the parliamentary election of 1991. BJP's ancestor ie., BJS also did not witness such great success.

Though the ideology of both the parties were similar. BJP with the politics of yatras and politicising the issue of building a Ram temple, in Ayodhya, where the Babri Masjid stood, mobilizes people in the name of Ram. It's anti muslim and pro hindu stance has given it the label of a communal political party. BJP apart from Ram Janmabhoomi, used two other things to gain political legitimacy among the middle and upper caste Hindus, non organised nature of Hinduism and the concept of pseudo secularism.<sup>48</sup> Both these issues paid rich dividend to the BJP in terms of votes.

BJP cashed in on anti Congressism, pseudo secularism of the Congress and its anti-Mandal stance. BJP is described as

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the most potent threat ever to the democratic, pluralistic-secular foundations of the Indian state.<sup>49</sup> The communal stand of the party will not take it too far. As BJP is a party with a history of just 14 years behind it, there are very few books on it. Though it is discussed in all the books on politics in India and Political parties in India. Asgar Ali Engineer and Pradeep Nayak co-edited book deals mainly with the 10th Lok Sabha Elections and the communal forces Party. Other source of information on this party are the party publications, news papers, articles in magazines etc.

### III

Politics in Indian states is not free from the intervention of the Union. The state politics effect the centre and vice versa. Politics in Himachal Pradesh has been a copy of the politics at the centre. Himachal Pradesh is probably the only state in the country where a two party system has evolved.

In Himachal Pradesh as in other parts of India change has taken place in social, political and economic fields. Political parties are an effective instrument of change. The direction of the change is from the traditional to modern. According to Dr. Ranbir Sharma "in the case of Pahari society of Himachal it's contact with the liberal British and western oriented groups from the plains activated this

progress and awakened the desire amongst hillmen for the democratisation of the political authority as for transformation of social values which were considered to impede the process<sup>50</sup> Dr. Sharma's work is the pioneering work in the field of party politics in the state of Himachal Pradesh. In traditional societies, such as Pahari society in Himachal Pradesh, undergoing modernisation and political development, political parties have the dual task of providing a stable government and political mobilisation that is bringing new groups of people into political process while orienting them towards political and economic goals of a modern state.<sup>51</sup>

This stable government was provided by the Congress in the state. Dr. Sharma in his book discusses the origin and development of political parties in Himachal Pradesh. He further discusses the leadership pattern and membership of Congress (I), as, till 1977 congress (I) was the only party which was in power. The other parties had little or no influence in the state. K.D. Gupta in an article. "Himachal Pradesh : Politics of Split Level Modernisation"<sup>52</sup> discusses the panorama of politics in Himachal Pradesh upto 1971. He characterizes the democratic institutions and process in Himachal Pradesh as 'split level modernisation'. The sudden leap from feudal to a democratic system with no previous traditions or experience to fall back upon has created a



hiatus between the structure of politics and the style of politics. The structure had become modern and competitive but the style remains traditional and personalised.<sup>53</sup>

T.R. Sharma's (ed)<sup>54</sup> book on politics in 3 states of North Indian has articles on Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Punjab. The main source of information on Himachal Pradesh are the books on the history of Himachal Pradesh. Very less research has been done on the politics of Himachal Pradesh. Though there are few unpublished dissertations and thesis on the politics in Himachal Pradesh and political parties in Himachal Pradesh but published books are very few. The main source have been the party documents, newspaper, journals and interviews.

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Bharatiya Janata Party came to power in the state in 1990 and this was the opportunity which the party got to prove itself. The performance of the party in the state of Himachal Pradesh has been discussed in the next few chapters.

The above discussion has helped us in formulating important issues regarding the study of BJP in specific context of H.P. The major issues which emerge from the above mentioned literature on political parties are the concern of the study. Since the study concentrates on BJP in H.P. the study of social and political profile of H.P. is important to situate BJP in specific context

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## CHAPTER - 2

### HIMACHAL PRADESH : A PROFILE

Himachal Pradesh, the 18th state of the Indian union, lies right in the lap of the Himalayas, is situated in the North West India. The word Himachal derives its origin from two Hindi words "Him" and "Anchal" meaning "Snow" and "Lap" respectively. Thus etymologically Himachal Pradesh stands for the region which lies in the slopes and foothills of snow.<sup>1</sup> Himachal Pradesh is bounded on the North by the picturesque valley of Kashmir, on the South East by the fertile plains of Uttar Pradesh, on the West by Punjab, Haryana in the South and Tibet in the East. It has an area of 55,673 square kilometers with a population of 5,111,079 which is 0.61% of India's population.<sup>2</sup> The density of the population is 92 persons per square kilometers as against the All India figure of 267 persons per square kilometer. The literacy percentage is 63.54 which is higher than the national average of 52.11%. In sex ratio Himachal Pradesh has reached the ideal situation and it ranks second in the country, first being Kerala with with 1040 females per 1000 males and Himachal has 996 females per 1000 males.<sup>3</sup>

#### GEOGRAPHICAL PROFILE

Himachal is situated on terraced fields and orchards, on forests and sloppy hills with eternal streams and rivers flowing down the valley. Himachal Pradesh is an intricate

and fascinating mosaic of mountain ranges hills and valleys. There is a gradual increase in the elevation from South to North and West to East. The altitude varies from 350 mt to 7000 mt. above sea level.<sup>4</sup> Physiographically, the territory can be divided into 3 zones<sup>5</sup>

(1) Outer Himalyas or Shiwalik Ranges which are the youngest of all, stretching in Himachal Pradesh from Kangra to Sirmaur with the greatest height of 915 mt.

(2) Inner Himalayas or Complex Order zone

Average height of mountain summits in this zone is about 4500 mt. The two ranges of the inner Himalayas are Pir Punjal and Dhaula Dhar. Numerous glaciers exist here and the famous Rothang pass and several other passes lie across this area.

(3) Greater Himalyas or Alpine zone The crest of the great Himalyas rarely falls below 5000 mt. This range runs along the eastern boundary and is cut across by the defile of the Sutlej. Famous passes like Kangla, Bara Lacha, Kunzam, Parang and Pin Parbati come across this range.

The Himalyas which guard the country, stretches over Chamba, Lahul, Spiti, Kulu and Kinnur.<sup>6</sup> They have high snow clad peaks concentrated in the northern zone:- The great Himalya and Zaskar. The highest peak in the state is 7,026mt. high ie. the Shilla Next to it is Leo Pargial (6,791mt.) and Shipki (6,608m.)

## Valleys

Himachal Pradesh is endowed with magnificent valleys. The most prominent of them are Chamba valley which is fairly open and the means of communication are good. The famous towns situated in this valley are Chamba, Brahmacy, Dalhousie and the tourist spot Khajyar. One of the most picturesque low altitude valley in the Himalyas is the Kangra valley. It ranges from the West to the East rising gradually from Shahpur to Baijnath and Palampur.

The mighty Dhauladhar is visible from this valley. Beas and its tributaries flow through this valley. Kangra valley is known for the mellow beauty of its landscape, its low hills and valley studded with charming hamlets. Another such valley is the Kullu valley, which is famous for the beauty of its majestic hills, covered with pine and deodar forests and sprawling apple orchards. Nestling in the heart of Himalyas, this valley is 75kms in length and about 2-4 kms. in breadth and ends near the famous Rohtang pass. Lahaul and Spiti valleys are surrounded by mountains with elevations ranging from 3000 to 6500 mt. This valley witnesses heavy snow fall. Then there are the Sangla valley, the Pabar valley, the Kunihar valley, the Demi valley, the Balh valley the Paonta valley<sup>7</sup> which increase the beauty of the Pradesh and lead to an increase in the number of tourists which is a good source of income.



## Rivers

Himachal region has the unique distinction of providing water to Indus and the Ganges basin. Five rivers flow through the state. The major river system of the region is Yamuna with its important tributaries of Tons, Pabar and Giri in the East and Sutlej, Beas, Ravi and Chenab in the West.<sup>8</sup> The catchment area of all these rivers are located in the snowbound regions. These snowfed rivers being perennial in nature play a very significant role in the life and economy of the state. Most of the rivers of Himachal Pradesh are snowfed. During the monsoon they become raging torrents carrying enormous quantity of water and in winter when water gets frozen at the high attitude they shrink to smaller size yet indomitable. The major contribution of these rivers is towards the generation of Hydro-electric power which has not been exploited to the hilt.

## Climate

Himachal Pradesh is a mountaineous region with elevations ranging from 350 to 7000 mt. The climatic conditions accordingly vary from the semi tropical to the semi-arctic. The climate of Kangra valley, Beas Valley, Shiwalik areas and Kiarda valley is severe in summer and winter is pleasant and bracing with only a moderate variation between the day and night temperature snowfall is rare. The climate in the mid or lesser Himalyan ranges of

the Pradesh and which cover one of Shimal ranges is pleasant in summer and very cold in winter and snowfall is heavy. In the Chandrabhaga and Kinnaur valleys, climate is temperate in summer and semi arctic in winter. Snowfall begins in October and after December the whole valley is under snow till March or April.<sup>9</sup> As far as rain is concerned, it varies from 500 mm to 3400 mm.

### Economic Profile

Before the formation of Himachal Pradesh in 1948, no serious attention was paid to the economic development and social welfare of the people. None of the erstwhile hill states was economically viable units and exploitation of the vast natural resources of the area was not even thought of. These small princely states had neither the resources nor the will to develop their area. After the formation of Himachal Pradesh the people and the government of these hill states started making concerted efforts to improve their own economic condition and that of the Pradesh. At the end of seventh plan the state income was 104747.42 lakh. The per capita income was Rs. 3622 at 1989-90 prices.<sup>10</sup> The incidence of poverty in the Pradesh is still high. 43.05% of the rural population and 11.71% of the urban population live below poverty line<sup>11</sup> Himachal is one of the most developed hill regions in the Himalyan ranges, if per capita income is considered as an index of development. This however is due

to the low density of population.<sup>12</sup> The state is rich in water resources, minerals, forests and has got a unique location and natural environment which can be availed for initiating development process of these hills. It is an ideal resort for tourists. In Himachal Pradesh the resource base sometimes is discussed in terms of a hexagon consisting of agriculture, forests, horticulture, animal husbandry, minerals and geothermal resources.<sup>13</sup>

### Agriculture

Agriculture is the major occupation of the people of Himachal Pradesh. It provides direct employment to 70-80% of the working population and contributes about 50% of the Net State Domestic product. In this landlocked hilly state agriculture is not merely an occupation but an established tradition and an accepted way of life.<sup>14</sup> Out of the total geographical area only 11.3% is under cultivation and at the most 4% termed as cultivable waste can be further brought under cultivation. Therefore roughly 1/7 of the total area of the state is in all potentiality available for agricultural use.<sup>15</sup> The overall position of agriculture in the state can hardly be considered satisfactory one because the state is still not self sufficient for its food requirements, which are generally met by the adjoining states.<sup>16</sup> In order to get maximum yield per unit area, per unit of time, the Department of agriculture, Himachal

Pradesh took up the production programmes in such a way as to get more than two crops in one year from the cultivated area. Efforts are, however, being made to raise the foodgrain production level still further through the implementation of various schemes of dry farming, water harvesting technology, introduction of high yielding varieties, plant production measure and improved implements and machinery, etc. in a phased manner, Maize, wheat, barley, rice, gram, pulses, millets, potato are the important crops grown in the state.

### Horticulture

The state is the dreamland of the orchardists. The typical geographical features with varied agro climatic zones is suitable for growing a large variety of fruits. Horticulture has helped in changing the cropping pattern in the Pradesh and has also increased the per capita income of the state. It is conceded unanimously that the returns of horticulture per unit of land and capital are more than that of agriculture in Himachal Pradesh and as such horticulture has become the mainstay of the economy in generating further reinvestible surplus having forward linkages.<sup>17</sup> It is reasonable to infer that the income from horticulture is over 25 times more than that of agriculture.<sup>18</sup> By the end of the Seventh Five Year Plan the area under fruit production was 1,46,49 hectares and the total fruit production was

4,59,990 tonnes.<sup>19</sup> It is horticulture that dominates the economy of the state and calls its political tunes.<sup>20</sup> Himachal has also established a separate marketing organisation. The H.P.M.C. exclusively meant for looking after the marketing and processing of the horticultural produce of the state. A multicore project with the assistance of International Development Association (World Bank) is being implemented for setting up a large scale integrated system aimed at improving and processing of horticultural commodities.

### Forests

The importance of forests in the economy of a nation or a state can hardly be overemphasized. Besides meeting the daily demand of the rural people for timber, fuel wood, fodder, medicinal herbs etc. forests play a vital role in providing employment to the local people. These forests also protect the catchment area of five important rivers of the Pradesh. Forests in Himachal cover almost an area of 21,325 square kilometers. This accounts to 38.30% of the total geographical area of the state.<sup>21</sup> Most of the forests belong to the government and private forests are very small in area. About 25% of the total revenue comes from these forests. Besides they provide employment to nearly 5 lakh persons. Suitable industries based on forest resources have been set up like 2 government owned Rosin and Turpentine factories at Nahan and Bilaspur.<sup>22</sup>

## Minerals

Himachal Pradesh is endowed with several important minerals such as limestone, gypsum, barytes, magnesite, rock salt, silica, sand, slate and pitchblend. In addition to these occurrences of pyrite, iron ore, copper, nickle, silver, coal, lead and mica has also been reported. Limestone, one of the most important minerals is used in many industries namely, in cement, lime, calcium carbide, fertilizer, steel, textiles, sugar, paper and leather. A cement manufacturing plant has been set up at Bilaspur and three more projects are underway.

## Industry

Industrial development in general has started to take roots, though the whole state has been declared as industrially backward. The state government has given several incentives to the entrepreneurs for putting up industrial units, besides the incentives provided under the central schemes. As a result, a number of new industries have either been established or are being set up. The production lines relate to granulated fertilizers, mill board, straw board, paper and paper pulp, fitter elements railway fitters, some chemicals, steel from scrap woollen cloth, TV sets, wrist watches, electronic goods, glass bottles, ceramics, vodka, brandy and beer, tusser, silk, farm implements, auto ancillaries and several other products based on steel and aluminium, tractors etc. are being

produced, Tea industry is also providing employment to farmers to supplement their income. Cottage and small scale industries are being given priority. The Pradesh offers good scope for further industrial development because of its richness in material and forest resources, horticulture potential and dust free climate.<sup>23</sup>

### **Hydel Power**

Himachal Pradesh abounds in many streams and rivulets and rivers and the problem has been how to utilise the perennial water from the streams and rivers for generating power. It is estimated that the state has about 12,700 M.W. of identified and about 7300 m.W. of assessed hydel power potential.<sup>24</sup> The major hydel projects in the state are Bhakra Nangal project, Naptha Jakhri project, Chamera project, Baspa Hydel project, Kol dam project, Parbati hydro electric project, Larji hydel project. etc.

### **Social Profile**

The hill, people are frank, honest, active, generous, hospitable, peace loving and deeply religious. They believe in local deities and clan gods. They have a rich cultural legacy Crime is rare. The people by and large are caste ridden. The Pahari caste system is characterised by a two fold division into high caste and low caste. The lower caste consisting of scheduled caste and scheduled tribes and the

various artisan castes and upper castes consisting of Brahmins and Rajputs or Thakurs. There is a sharp polarisation between the two major upper castes also. People of Himachal are predominantly Hindus. Family, caste and community are most significant social units of society.<sup>25</sup> Hindu religion is the basis of the caste system whose impact on state politics continues to be predominant.<sup>26</sup> Language wise, Himachal Pradesh is a compact region. Language controversy has never rocked this state.

The following table shows the distribution of population by religion. Hindus dominate the share with 95.77% and Muslim 1.63%. The Hindu Muslim politics of the parties.

\* Table 1

Distribution of Population by Religion

Religion	% of the population
Hindus	95.77
Muslims	1.63
Christians	0.09
Sikhs	1.22
Buddhists	1.23
Jains	0.02
Other Religions and Persuasions	0.01
Religion not stated	0.03

Source - Statistical Outline of Himachal Pradesh, 1990.



does not work in the state. Neither has there been any riots between these 2 communities. The people live in mutual harmony.

### Political Profile

Before independence the movement for democratisation of the administration of the princely states had been led by Praja Mandal, an organisation of the subjects of princely states. In 1939 a session of all Indian people's conference was held at Ludhiana on which it was decided to form "Praja Mandal in the hill states and to devote special attention towards these areas which resulted in the awakening of general and political awareness in himachal Pradesh.<sup>27</sup> The movement in the state was confined to certain urban sections of the people and for others it was essentially agrarian in character. In general the movement was inspired by the Gandhian principles and only in rare circumstances did the people take to violence.<sup>28</sup> Although most of the Praja Mandalist believed in the congress ideology yet the congress did not directly participate in their struggles. The developing political consciousness of the hill people could be seen asserting itself in the shape of demands for the abolition of "Begar" of caste oriented institution and the democratisation of the personal rule of Raja's and Rana's. Kisan Sabhas were organised to safeguard the interests of the farmers against the high handedness of the state

officials. Such demands came to be voiced from as numerous centres as there were the hill states, through Praja Mandals - sometimes illorganised and lacking leadership with a broad outlook.

The All India State People's Conference (AISPC), an ally of the Congress tried to weld these dispersed Praja Mandals into one organisation by setting up Himalayan Hill States Regional Council (HHSRC) in January 1946. the formation of the HHSRC was a great milestone in the growth of political consciousness and development of a political organisation covering the Hill States.<sup>29</sup> As a result of this, subjects of various Hill states were able to establish closer links, understand each others problems and gathered courage to bring about social political and economic reforms.

After India became free there was a demand in some quarters for the merger of the hill states with the East Punjab but it met with vehement opposition from the rulers as well as the people. Therefore the rulers of Shimla hill states met at Delhi in the first week of January 1948 chalk out a programme for future and decided to constitute a Shimla Hill States Union for the greater good of the people. The announcement for the formation of Himachal Pradesh was made in a public meeting held at Solan. Mr. Bushahari in an eloquent speech said. "Today, we, the people of Himalayas, have taken sacred pledge to weld ourselves into one single

state because we believe that Father Himachal gives to all of us a physical unity and emotional identity, cultural and political soul which we must preserve."<sup>30</sup>

Thus, Himachal Pradesh was brought into the mainstream of the Indian democracy on 15 April 1948, with the integration of 30 big and small princely hill states.<sup>31</sup> (The 30 princely states were Chamba, Mandi, Suket, Bushahr and its tributaries, Khaneti, Delath, Keonthal and its tributaries, Koti, Theog, Madhan, Ghund and Ratesh, Baghal, Baghat, Jubbal with its tributaries, Ravin and Dhadi, Kumharsain, Bhajji, Mahlog, Balson, Dhami, Kuthar, Kunihar, Mangal, Beja, Darkoti, Tharoch, Sangri and Sirmur). The 30 princely states were integrated into one centrally administered territory under the charge of a Chief Commissioner. In September 1951, the government of Part 'C' States Act was passed, which conceded a responsible government of limited character to Himachal Pradesh under a Lieutenant Governor. Elections to 36 member Legislative Assembly created under the new act were held in November 1951. The popular ministry convinced the centre of incongruity of keeping Bilaspur as a separate Part 'C' state. As a result of this on July 1, 1954 Bilaspur was merged to Himachal Pradesh. In 1953, Government of India appointed the States Reorganisation Commission, which presented its report in September 1955. Majority of the

members were of the opinion that himachal be integrated with Punjab. But the chairman of the Commission Mr. Faizal Ali put his dissent and recommended its separate identity. but unfortunately it reverted to the old bureaucratic rule.

On November 1, 1956 the wheels of democracy took a back turn in this state and it was made a Union Territory under Lieutenant Governor. Its legislature ceased to exist and all the legislative powers were transferred to the Indian Parliament. A Territorial council was formed under the Union Territories Act, for which elections were held in 1957. In 1963 the government of Union Territories Act was passed under which Territorial Councils were turned into Vidhar Sabhas. In 1965 the Punjab reorganisation cropped up. The state acquired its present form only in the wake of the linguistic reorganisation of composite Punjab in 1966. The new areas transferred to it from the eastwhile Punjab state on 1 November 1966 included.

- (a) District of Kangra, Kullu, Lahul Spiti and Shimla
- (b) Nalagarh tehsil of Ambala district.
- (c) Kanungo circles of Lahora, Anb, Una and Santokhgarh of the eastwhile tehsil of Hoshiarpur district.
- (d) Dhar Kalan Kanungo circle of Pathankot tehsil of Gurdaspur district.<sup>32</sup>

The prolonged and peaceful struggle of the people of Himachal bore another fruit when it succeeded in getting

Himachal Pradesh declared as the 18th full fledged state of the Indian union on 25 January, 1971.

### GROWTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

Although organisationally weak, yet the Praja Mandal Movement through its long struggle, furnished the Pahari society with the time required for incubation which afterwards led to the smooth development of modern political institutions.<sup>33</sup> After independence, and after the formation of Himachal Pradesh, the Praja Mandals were converted into Congress Committees. The Congress Party in Himachal Pradesh had been founded on the infrastructure supplied by Praja Mandals but it had to face many problems. The lack of political consciousness and the sudden extension of the right to vote to all adults in Himachal Pradesh in 1952 put the development of party system under strain. Thus relatively underdeveloped party system had to cope with the impact a mass electorate. The political parties were called upon to play a crucial and difficult role in a traditional society undergoing rapid transformation. The Congress party started the developmental programme which led to the modernisation of the Pradesh. From 1952-1977 Himachal was a one party dominant state. Congress had the initial benefit with its relatively mass base. The party maintained its majority in the legislative Assembly and recured 100% seats in Lok Sabha elections, the table below justifies it.

Electoral Performance of Congress (I) Party in Lok Sabha

from H.P.

Table 2.

	1952	1957	1962	1967	1972	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991
Votes %	52.4	47.3	68.7	48.33	78.85	38.56	52.1	68.65	41.96	46.16
Seats %	100	100	100	100	100	0	100	100	25	50
No.of Seats	3(3)	4(4)	4(4)	6(6)	4(4)	0(4)	4(4)	4(4)	1(4)	2(4)

Source : Ranbir Sharma -" Politics of Himachal Pradesh" in T.R. Sharma (ed), New Chanllanges of Politics in Indian States, Uppal Publishing, New Delhi, 1986, p.232.

The changes in the land tenure, establishment of new pattern of local government, expansion in developmental administration and the launching of five year plans enabled the Congress party to spread its network of patronage to the remotest corners of Himachal Pradesh. One party dominance had been conducive to the growth of parliamentary institutions especially in the formative stage of its development.<sup>34</sup> But soon the people of Himachal Pradesh who were now more politically conscious realized that one party dominant system had made the partymen look for governmental power rather than serve the people.

The success of Congress I in the state legislature can be seen in the table below. From 1952 to 1977 it ruled unopposed. After 1977 the politics of Himachal has seen a two party polities. Electoral performance of Congress I in H.P. State Legislative Assembly is given below in Table 3.

Table 3

Electoral Performance of the Congress Party in Himachal

Pradesh Vidhan Sabha

	1967	1972	1977	1982	1985	1990	1993
Votes %	42.17	49.09	27.74	43.53	63.74	41.96	50.00
Seats %	56.66	78.00	13.23	45.60	84.6	13.24	76.47
No. of Seats	34(60)	53(68)	9(68)	31(68)	55(68)	9(68)	52(68)

Source : Ranbir Sharma - Politics of Himachal Pradesh" in T.R. Sharma (ed), New Chanllanges of Politics in Indian States, Uppal Publishing, New Delhi, 1986,

The political life of Himachal began with a single party in 1948 but the grant of universal adult franchise under the constitution of India and the prospects of first general elections diverted the attention of all other Indian political parties to this politically backward state. Swatantra Party, Pradesh Jana Sangh, Himachal Pradesh Communist Party, Himachal Pradesh Scheduled Caste Federation or Republican party, Vishal Himachal Samiti, Himachal Pradesh Lok Raj Party, Lok Dal, Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party were the parties which joined the politics of the state.

Vishal Himachal Samiti was a temporary party (as described by Ostrogaski, temporary parties are those which are formed with a specific aim and when this aim is fulfilled they automatically dissolve and new parties are formed) which came up with the objective of creation of Vishal Himachal in 1955. It consisted of members drawn from

all the parties of Himachal Pradesh except the Jana Sangh. Because of the nature of its composition and structure all its attempts to emerge out as a regular political party failed. The Samiti went out of existence after its objective of Vishal Himachal became a reality on November 1, 1966.

Lok Raj Samiti was organised prior to 1967 elections. It was a regional party like the DMK in Tamil Nadu and Akali Dal in Punjab. Like the Vishal Himachal Party the main plank of Lok Raj Party was the grant of statchood to Himachal. So both these parties can be categorised under the temporary parties of Ostrogoski. Both these parties ceased to exist after their aim, of maintaining Himachal as a seperate entity and a large Himachal, was fulfilled.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh was formed on May 27, 1951 at a regional level in Jullundhur. But the organisational growth however remained slow and stunned. The party could not set up organisational network in rural areas. The party did not set up a seperate unit in the state because the party leadership did not believe in the existence of Himachal Pradesh as a seperate unit. The Himachal Pradesh Party unit functioned as an appendage of Punjab unit. The organisational set up of the party was strengthened after 1966 when a seperate unit for the party was set up. The influence of Pradesh Jana Sangh was more strong in new areas than the older one. This became clear from election results of 1967. The party won 7 seats and all from the new areas of



the Pradesh. Jana Sangh became the largest opposition party after 1967 though it could not provide an alternative to the Congress government. Jan Sangh party got the opportunity to form the government in 1977 when the Janata Party came to power at the centre. In Himachal also Janata Party became the ruling party. Jana Sangh constituted the core of the newly formed Janata Party. After the collapse of Janata Party in 1980 the erstwhile Jan Sangh regrouped themselves in the Bharatiya Janata Party. Bharatiya Janata Party was the descendant of Bharatiya Jan Sangh both ideologically and organisationally. The electoral achievements of the party had increased from 7 seats in Himachal Pradesh Vidhan Sabha in 1967 to 46 in 1990. Table 4 shows the electoral performance of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

Till date it is the only effective opposition party in the state. The party greatly exploited the regional feelings of the people i.e. the feeling of neglect which the people of new areas had, was exploited

**Table 4**

**BJP's Electoral Performance in Himachal Pradesh Vidhan Sabha**

	1982	1985	1990	1993
votes %	35.15	30.6	42.9	35.6
Seats %	42.64	10.29	67.64	11.76
No. of Seats won	29(68)	7(68)	46(68)	8(68)

Source : Himachal Pradesh State - statistical analysis of general elections to state legislative Assembly; 1967, 1972, 1977, 1982, 1985.

The importance given by the Congress to the horticultural areas made the people of the merged areas feel discriminated and neglected. The ideology on which the BJP works are described as "Five Commitments".

- (a) Nationalism and National Integration
- (b) Positive secularism
- (c) Value based politics
- (d) Commitment to democracy
- (e) Integrated Humanism.

I will be dealing with this party in detail in the next chapter.

Communist Party - the development of the Communist party can be traced back to 1953. Its object was to ventilate the grievances of the tenants. Like Jana Sangh the Communist Party was also kept under the Punjab Communist Party for 9 years i.e. from 1953-1961. The party worked through organisations of workers and peasants such as worker unions, transport workers union and Kisan sabhas. But the party could not make a solid base in the state eventhough it has survived all these years. In 1964, as a consequence of the split at all India level, the Himachal Pradesh Communist Party also split into Communist party of India and Communist Party of India (Marxist). The electoral success of the party shows that at no point was it able to gain more than 2 seats in the Vidhan Sabha elections. In the 1993 Vidhan Sabha

election CPI(M) was successful in securing the Shimla seat.

Like the Lok Raj Party and Vishal Himachal Party the Swatantra Party has also become non existent now. The Scheduled Caste Federation as the name suggests, was formed to protect the rights of the untouchables. But this party could not gain ground as the major parties like the Congress, the BJP were trying to uplift the Harijans. The Ram Rajya Parishad and the Hindu Mahasabha never had any influence in Himachal Pradesh.

Janata Dal - During the later half of 1989 some parties or factions of some parties namely the Janata Party led by Chandra Shekhar, Lok Dal (B) and Jan Morcha led by Shri Ram Dhan etc. decided to join a united front against the Congress(I). In Himachal also the Janata Dal was formed in 1989. In 1990 Vidhan Sabha elections, the party, in alliance with BJP scored 11 seats out of 17 which it contested. But in 1993 it could not retain back even one of its seat.

From the above discussion it becomes clear that Himachal Pradesh is leading towards a two party system. There were some regional parties which emerged on the scene but none could survive for long. Congress I and BJP are the alternative to each other in Himachal Pradesh. In the next chapter, the ideology and organisation of BJP is dealt in detail

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## CHAPTER - 3

### AN OVERVIEW OF THE BJP : IDEOLOGY AND ORGANISATION

In the literature on Indian Politics, political parties and party system in India, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been variedly described as "reactionary", "communal", "Hindu revivalist", "ultra rightist" and "militant nationalist" in its ideological orientation.<sup>1</sup>

The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi led to the ban of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) which was lifted after a year. During this period the leaders of RSS seriously thought of making a political party. On 25 October, 1951, the All India Party known as the Bharatiya Jana Sangh was inaugurated with Shyama Prasad Mukherjee as its founder President. The party pledged to rebuild India as a modern, progressive and democratic state on the basis of her age old sanskriti and maryada.<sup>2</sup> The party was inspired by the vision of an Akhand Bharat or undivided India of the pre-partition days, an India strongly knit together on the basis of her age old cultural heritage. The party fully subscribed to the ancient ideal of non communal state<sup>3</sup> and rejects pseudo secularism that combines irreligion with appeasement. Unity in diversity has been the characteristic feature of Bharatiya culture.

The conservative strands in the social ideology of Jana Sangh can be traced back to the influence of Hindu Mahasabha

and Ram Rajya Parishad. These were two of the most orthodox of all the rightish parties. Both worked for the Hindu cause and the setting up of Ram Rajya. Hindu Mahasabha and Ram Rajya Parishad had to a large extent receded from the Indian Political life and it was Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) which inculcated some of their values and preferences in social, cultural and religious sphere. But by far the most direct and powerful influence on BJS, both ideologically as well as at organisational levels, has been that of RSS. The organisational backbone of BJS was the RSS. The professed aim and objective of RSS are to promote the physical, intellectual and moral well being of the Hindus and also to foster the feeling of brotherhood, love and service amongst them.<sup>4</sup> RSS with a well knit organisational structure and well trained disciplined cadre of workers provides the backbone to the BJS leadership and rank and file. The ideology of Hindu Nationalism, one culture, one people, one nation and one ideal have been borrowed from RSS. BJS was the political arm of RSS, just a political cover for RSS.

The party's main objective was declared to be - "The rebuilding of Bharat on the basis of Bhartiya Sanskriti (culture) and Maryada (rectitude) and as a political, social and economic democracy granting equality of opportunity and liberty of individual so as to make her a prosperous, powerful and united nation, progressive, modern and enlightened, able to withstand the aggressive designs of

others and to pull her weight in the council of nations for the establishment of world peace.<sup>5</sup> To build a strong India of its conception, the Jana Sangh had been in favour of a unitary state system which would have the power to neutralise fissi parous and secessionist tendencies. The party, till today is in favour of administrative decentralisation, a uniform civil code for all sections of people to promote national solidarity and integrity, civil liberties and fundamental rights to be maintained. The party favoured well planned decentralized national economic plan. It was against the concentration of economic power in the hands of small groups and cartels. The sanctity of private property was to be respected and private enterprise to be given fair and adequate play in the economic scheme. The party stood for progressive decontrol while recognising at the same time the need for an integrated scheme for large, medium and small scale industries to provide employment, boost production and raise the standard of living. The party stood for the so called welfare capitalism.<sup>6</sup> In terms of policy it was trying to represent itself as a champion of the small independent producers in both industry and agriculture and of traders against their traditional opponents - landlords and big business and espoused causes such as the advancement of Hindi, which had given it a strongly northern bias and had adopted extreme attitudes in foreign policy as in the case of Kashmir dispute.<sup>7</sup>



The party addressed itself, mainly to the middle and lower middle classes of the urban areas and some sectors of the peasant classes in the rural areas and derived its support mainly from these classes. The proposals in respect to price control, tax relief incentives from small and medium scale industries, agricultural credit and cattle and crop insurance reduction and standardization of land rents, the ensured supply of foodgrains and essential commodities, the ending of licensing system for industries set up with indigeneous resources, the fixing of parity between prices of agricultural produce and industrial manufactures, all these are characteristically middle class or petit bourgeois in origin and inspiration.<sup>8</sup> It opposed the abolition of land revenue on uneconomic holdings of poor farmers. It encouraged private ownership of industries instead of nationalisation.

The strong Hindu nationalist orientation of Jana Sangh was reflected in its foreign policy also. In foreign policy it believed in following a firm policy towards Pakistan and to keep the national interests above all considerations. It was against domestic and international communism. On the question of Kashmir it believed that India should deal with Pakistan on a basis of reciprocity while maintaining the non negotiability of the status of Kashmir, as an integral part of India.<sup>9</sup>

The party attracted the tradition oriented Brahmin community, the displaced persons from Pakistan, small tradesman and peasants, the dispossessed landed interests and certain areas, middle class professionals and the white collar workers. A large number of intellectuals and professionals of the middle class who had RSS origin and orientation also belonged to Jana Sangh. It was confined to certain sections, regions and strata of society and was party of the hindi speaking areas.<sup>10</sup> Jana Sangh did not attract to its fold the minority communities because of its aggressive nationalistic and pro Hindu image.

#### Organisational Structure of Bharatiya Jana Sangh" 11

The lowest level in the organisational hierarchy was the Sthaniya Samiti (local committees). Members of each Samiti elect their working committee consisting of a President, a Secretary, a Treasurer and members numbering 4, for a total membership of less than 100 and 11 for a total membership exceeding 100. Local committees were organised for every polling booth. It's term was one year.

Next to Sthaniya Samities were Mandal Samitis which were organised to correspond the area of an assembly constituency. All elected members of local committees within the jurisdiction of a Mandal elect a President, not more than 2 Vice Presidents, a Secretary and not more than 2

Joint Secretary and a Treasurer. Every Mandal has at least 5 Staniya Samitis in its fold.

The organisation was further structured into district committees. All elected members of at least 3 Mandal Committees within a district elect a President not more than 2 vice Presidents, a Secretary, not more than 2 Joint Secretaries and a Treasurer for their district committees.

Then came the Divisional Committees. In cities with a population of 20 lakhs, all elected members of district committees elect a President, not more than 2 Vice Presidents, a Secretary and not more than 2 Joint Secretaries and a Treasurer for their divisional committees.

At the state level there was provision for the formation of the Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha in the Jana Sangh constitution (Pradesh General Council) The Pradesh General Council comprises of Representatives of Legislative Assembly constituencies, women representatives one from each district, members of All India General Council from the Pradesh, not more than 20 members co-opted at the first session, not more than 5 members nominated by the all India working committee, members of Pradesh working committee, members of legislatures, chairman of district councils and the chairman of municipalities. All elected members of Mandal committee within every district elect representatives of Legislative Assembly constituencies and women

representatives. All representatives of Legislative constituency and women representatives elect a President, not more than 3 Vice Presidents, a Secretary, not more than 2 Joint Secretaries and a Treasurer at the councils first session. The Pradesh working committee is the Pradesh executive of the Jana Sangh. It implements the policies and programmes decided upon by the All India general council. It consists of office bearers of the Pradesh general council and the members nominated by the President. It has the strength of not more than 41 members of which at least 2 remain women members of which at least 2 remain women members and 2 members belonging to Scheduled caste and Scheduled Tribe.

The highest organ of the BJS was the Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha which meets at least once a year and consists of a President and the Secretary of each district committee in the country. Members of Bharatiya and Pradeshik Karya Samitis not more than 2 members from each front working in each Pradesh nominated by Bharatiya Karya Samitis, delegates from affiliated organisations, members of the parliament and more than 20 members co-opted by the elected members at the first meeting. It is the supreme body for laying down the policy and programmes of Jana Sangh. All India Working committees of the Jana Sangh consists of President and not more than 50 members. Out o these at least

3 should be women and 2 of Scheduled Caste and 2 Scheduled Tribes. President appoints 2 Vice Presidents. One general Secretary and one or more secretaries and one treasurer out of the members of all India Working Committee. All India working committee appoints a parliamentary board.

The auxillary organisation affiliated to BJS were Akhil Bhartiya Vidhyarthi Parishad, the youth organisation which worked in colleges and universities. Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh and Mahilla Agadhe had relationship with the party.

Organisational Chart of Bhartiya Jana Sangh

President

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Bhartiya Pratinidhi Sabha	Working Committee
Pradeshik Partinidhi Sabha	Parliamentary Board
Divisional Committees	Fronts Affiliated to
District Committees	or organised by
Mandal Committees	All India general council
Sthaniya Samitis	or All India Working Committee

Source : K.N. Kumar, - Political Parties in India, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1990, p.33.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh : Electoral Performance

BJP, representing few sections of the society could not gain much in the electoral contests. The party had been

founded only a few months before the onset of the campaign for the first general elections in 1951-52 and its efforts to take part in these contests were necessarily improvised.

**Table 5**

**Electoral performance of BJS in Lok Sabha elections**

**1951 -1977**

	1951-52	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977
Total Seats	489	494	494	520	518	542
Contested	94	130	196	251	160	405
Won	3	4	14	35	22	295
Vote %	3.06	5.97	6.44	9.35	7.4	14.3

Source : V.B. Singh and Shankar Bose - Elections in India - Data Handbood on Lok Sabha election 1952-85, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1986.

BJS went into the general elections of 1957 with a far clearer grasp of the electoral process and a less conservative set of policy guidelines.<sup>12</sup> The party's strength continued to be concentrated in the Hindi speaking areas especially, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi and the Hindi majority cities of Punjab areas in which RSS and already established a firm base. In 1962 the BJS won 14 seats which were 10 more than the previous elections. Between 1962 and 1967 a series of events had eroded support from the ruling Congress party. India fought two wars with

China (1962) and Pakistan (1965) which drained resources that could have gone into economic development BJS leaders believed that the public mood might be shifting in ways they could exploit to strengthen the party's support base. The Congress returned to power at the centre in 1967 but with a much reduced majority. The Jana Sangh for its part performed far better than even its leaders expected<sup>13</sup> and increased the number of seats in parliament from 14 to 35 in 1967.

The organisational expansion of Jana Sangh was more rapid during the late 60's and 70's and the party had adopted the strategy of alliances and moderation in relation to other right wing opposition to the Congress. During the fifties the Jana Sangh was consistently taking initiatives to ally with the Hindu Mahasabha, Ram Rajya Parishad etc. After the emergence of Swatantra and the decline of the regional parties the Jana Sangh initiated alliances with Swatantra and this strategy succeeded especially after 1967. The Jana Sangh leadership, having established a firm organisational base was also laying a programmatic groundwork for a party of the common man. The Jana Sangh went into the 1971 general elections linked to the "grand alliance". The 1971 elections were a debacle for the Jana Sangh but it continued as a strong force in the opposition. The leadership came in for severe criticism from the party cadre.

The Janata alliance became the Janata Party in 1977 with the aim of ending Congress rule in India. During the emergency<sup>14</sup> imposed by Mrs. Gandhi, the then Prime Minister, MISA (Maintenance of Internal Security Act), DIR (Defence of India Rule) and press censorship were imposed. Fundamental Rights were abrogated. The military exigencies during the emergency period made the Indira Gandhi government unpopular and the mandate went in favour of the Janata Party which had emerged as an alternative to the Congress government. The Janata party came to power with flying colours and high promises which pitched up the hopes of the people. But the party could not work successfully.

The Janata party from the start was a fragile coalition. The party leaders bottled against each other to improve their own standing and that of their group. The RSS closely identified in the popular mind with the Jana Sangh group (which constituted the major part of the coalition) inevitably became an issue, as the groups manoeuvred for influence. Suspicions aroused within the Janata party that the RSS would use its impressive organisational resources to strengthen the position of the Jana Sangh group, already the largest single element of the Janata Party. In 1980 many of the Jana Sanghis resumed an independent existence and formed the Bharatiya Janata Party.



## BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY (BJP)

On April 5, 1980 a new party named Bharatiya Janata Party was formed. The convenors portrayed the new party as the real representative of Jaya Prakash Narayan, as well as that of Deen Dayal Upadhyay a choice clearly intended to underscore the philosophic orientation of the new party. The choice was also likely intended to demonstrate that this new party was not simply a resurrected Jana Sangh, but that it was a party which aspired to a much broader following.<sup>15</sup> The BJP has points of continuity with the Jana Sangh, in its well knit organisational set up and disciplined cadres and in its linkages with the traditionalist and militant Hindu socio-cultural organisation, the RSS which is generally labelled as the most entrenched communal organisation in India. With certain variations its political perspective and policy orientation have affinity with the Jana Sangh as well.

E.M.S. Namboodripad described the BJP as a bourgeois alternative to the Congress(I).<sup>16</sup> Some described it as old wine in a new bottle. BJP took pains to distance itself from the BJS past because the BJS was characterised by the narrow parochial outlook captured in the slogan -Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan. But the BJP also could not distance itself from the concept of Hindutva. "The land belongs to the original dwellers, the Hindus. The later arrivals cannot be on par

with them - unless they accepted their "culture" Only their forms of worship are conceded to the newcomers, albeit with much qualification. This is very much part of the BJP's Hindutva.<sup>17</sup> "BJP is in truth, heir to one of the two communal movements that existed long before independence, the Hindu Mahasabha"<sup>18</sup>

BJP tried to project itself as an all India party, with a set of clean and mature leaders who would concentrate on grassroot activity to build a political base in order to come to power once they realised that unless they became a party of the national mainstream and enjoyed support from all the sections they could not become a national alternative. Today the Bharatiya Janata Party prides itself as being the only one left ideological party in the country. The party even prides on the fact that they are ideologically pure and alone.<sup>19</sup> They criticised other parties for borrowing ideologies like Socialism and Communism from the West. They take pride in what is Indian and so claim to follow ideologies with Indian background.

#### IDEOLOGY OF BJP

The basic ideological statement consists of five commitments<sup>20</sup> on the basis of which they seek to create national consensus.

## Nationalism and National Integration

India is one nation and Indians are one people constituting and mutually accommodating plurality of religious faiths, ideologies, languages, interests etc. BJP believes that people of different faiths and different ideologies should be able to coexist in peace and harmony with one another.<sup>21</sup> for the progress of all the religious and social groups. Those engaged in anti social activities cannot contribute to the national consensus and should be kept out.

The BJP is trying to redefine Indian Nationalism in Hindu terms. Nationalism and Hindutva are synonymous to them.<sup>22</sup> A true nationalist, to them is the one who supports the Hindu Rashtra and Ram Rajya.

## Commitment to Democracy

Commitment to democracy which was also the fundamental plank of the JP movement. As a believer of democracy the party pledges to fight against all trends of fascism and authoritarianism and defend the democratic institution. It would cooperate with other democratic parties, if the need arises to defend the fundamental rights and democracy.<sup>23</sup>

## Positive Secularism

BJP believes in the policy of so called 'Positive Secularism', based on moral values.<sup>24</sup> According to them

secularism has been reduced to a negative concept. The secularism of the Congress(I) is opportunistic and has communalised the Indian politics. This pseudo secularism of Congress has led to the politics of communal vote banks. For BJP secularism means something positive. It also means distillation of common moral values whether derived from different religions or from other historical and civilizational experience and approach which always remained integral to the Indian civilization.<sup>25</sup> Secularism does not mean appeasement of the minorities and ignoring the majorities.

The so called positive secularism of BJP, means positive inducements by the state to the Hindus and discrimination against the minorities in India. Positive secularism means a close linkage between the Hindu religion and the Indian state. The secularism of other parties is negative i.e. discriminating against the majorities and so they are pseudo secularist. BJP's secularism is positive because it discriminates against minorities and protects the majority. "They talk of not only Roti but Ram - the bread of life itself. Away with pseudo secularism of western values. India must discover its past, such is the message given by Hindutva party and its allies".<sup>26</sup> If Congress is pseudo secularist party than BJP is no less pseudo secularist (and communal) as it is supporting the Hindus only. They are

ready to accept the minorities, only if they call themselves Hindus. BJP, by Hindu means the people of a nation, Hindustan and not a particular community.

### Gandian Socialism

Integral humanism is an old concept propounded by Deen Dayal Upadhyay and adopted by Jana Sangh. In 1980 BJP adopted Gandhian socialism describing it like Deen Dayal Upadhyay's Integral Humanism. This aroused a lot of criticism from within the party. Many opposed the word "Socialism" because according to the RSS it was related to Marxism which is identified as a foreign ideology and the BJP stresses on indigeneous ideologies. Others said that the adoption of Gandhian Socialism would make BJP a photocopy of Congress(I). Bread, Freedom and Employment are the Gandhian Principles and BJP makes these principles central core of development strategy and try to build a national consensus around them. Concentration of economic powers either in the hands of the state or in the hands of the individual, has its own dangers and leads to corruption of power. BJP will allow Gandhian practices to achieve Gandhian objectives.<sup>27</sup> BJP adopted Gandhian approach to tackle socio-economic problems rather than Gandhian Socialism as a guiding principle. In a personal interview given to the author, Mrs. Sushma Swaraj (currently incharge of the affairs of BJP in Himachal Pradesh) said that "Integral Humanism is the

integrated development of the human personality and the society. Gandhian socialism is still being followed by our party in the socio-economic field. We have adopted Integral Humanism as the main principle because it calls for the development of all the aspects of human beings and society and Gandhian Socialism is not much different from Integral humanism. Both these principles are not opposed to each other".<sup>28</sup> Integrated Humanism is the answer to modern challenges and is the Bhartiya alternative to Communism and Capitalism. The concept aims at the progress and happiness of man, the integrated man. Individual is the main.

#### Value Based Politics

The central point of Gandhian socialism is that there should be no poverty 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 sanctions and punishment. BJP will strive to build up such a value based politics and thus seek to cleanse the public life today.<sup>29</sup>

These were the five commitments which the BJP promises to follow. That is a different question that promises are made to be broken. They accuse the Congress (I) of appeasement of minorities while the BJP is trying to appease the majority, on communal basis. Both the Congress (I) and the BJP have given encouragement to communal vote banks. The

word secularism has been distorted by both and moulded in their own moulds. Secularism has become like Socialism. E.M. Joad said that "Socialism is like a hat that has lost its shape, having been worn by so many different heads"

The distinct features of BJP's personality are - their stand on article 370, dealing with the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, the demand that minorities commission be replaced by Human Rights Commission that Directive Principles of State Policy in respect of Uniform Civil Code be implemented and that a Ram Mandir be constructed at Ayodhya, at the site believed to be the birth place of Shri Ram, a strong hand in dealing with Pakistan, anti muslim stance and creating a Ram Rajya.

"In the recent years, Hindu Communalism has launched its ideological offensive on the basis of 3 main planks. The first is the attempt to link itself to the religious appeal by leading the movement for the construction of the Ram Temple at Ayodhya by demolishing the Babri Mosque. The second is the attempt to condemn secularism as minorityism and to label secularists as Hindu baiters or sons of Macaulay i.e. anti national or denationalised and westernised elements who have no roots in Indian tradition or culture. The third plank on which they are building their edifice is the one in which Hindutva is paraded not in its original demonic communal garb but all dressed up to look

like the personification of Indian nationalism - Bharat Mata herself."<sup>30</sup>

BJP started its mobilization for the building of Ram temple in Ayodhya with the Shilpujans, Rathyatras, Shilanayas and finally demolishing the Babri Mosque BJP had caught the weak nerve of the people and was exploiting it. Riding the Hindutva wave it expected to form the government in the centre. After 1985 the main issue around which BJP revolved was Ram temple at Ayodhya. Various Yatras were taken out to spread the message to the public. The number of people BJP mobilized on December 6, 1992 was vast and the whole credit goes to RSS and VHP. The demolition of the Babri mosque led to vast criticism of BJP from all sectors of society. BJP is a strongly status-quoist party which has cloaked its real orientation under the rhetoric of Hindutva.<sup>31</sup> The assembly election of 1993 made the think tanks of BJP work hard. "Secularism is linked with the whole enterprise of modernisation, rationality, social justice, equality and emancipation of women. Secular agenda of politics is comprehensive and the BJP is restricting it to a limited emotive issue to win election Secularism is a contest for an alternative humanistic and equalitarian social order and the BJP world view is limited".<sup>32</sup> The party cannot always substitute Ram for Roti.<sup>33</sup>



### Electoral Performance : BJP

BJP has come a long way and is successful in surviving the multiparty competition. As BJS, it did not have great force in the beginning but after 1967, a water shed year in the politics of India, it increased in the percentage of votes and seats in the Parliament. In 1977 it gained 41.3%. In recent years the party has gained the position of the single largest opposition in the parliament and had formed government in 1990 in 4 key states of North India. These four governments were dismissed after the demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992. From two seats in 1982 to 120 seats in 1991, BJP's growth chart shows an upward tilt.

Table 6

#### Electoral Performance of BJP in Parliament 1984-91

	1984	1989	1991
Total Seats	542	543	537
Contested	229	225	479
Won	2	85	119
% of votes	7.4	11.4	20.95

Source : David Butler, Ashok Lahiri and Pranoy Roy - India Decides Election - 1952-1991, Living Media Publication, New Delhi, 1991.

By systematically working on the Ramjanambhoomi campaign the BJP-RSS\_VHP managed to widen their base far beyond the

boundaries ever achieved by the Jana Sangh. From 1986 onwards BJP has spoken of its earlier themes of antodya, Swadeshi and Integral Humanism. But in essence it has remained a single issue party and the issue that has kept it going is the simmering conflict in Ayodhya.

BJP like its predecessors has a strong electoral base in the Hindi belt especially among the small and medium traders and shopkeepers in both urban and rural areas, among the traditional business community of the Vaishya and Jains among illeterate masses attuned to traditional views of politics and also among middle class professionals and service personnel. It is also known as the "brahmin baniya" party. i.e. a party supporting the upper caste. Most of the support to the party comes from its backbone organisation i.e. the RSS. Much of the success of BJP depends on the cadres provided by RSS. These cadres propagate for the party and mobilize the people in favour of the policies of the party.

BJP is a cadre based mass party with a membership of nearly one crore.<sup>34</sup> BJP has a strong organisational base. Through the involvement in games and physical exercises, the RSS seeks to create bonds of brotherhood and a sense of discipline among its cadres. The values of absolute loyalty, the submission of self to the leader, the submergence of individual to the community are inculcated in them from the

beginning. BJP is a party of the right wing with disciplined and devoted cadres working for it.

**Organisational Structure of BJP**<sup>35</sup>

The lowest in the organisational hierarchy of the BJP is the local committee consisting of 50 members. The President and members of local committee are elected by all the members of the area. The President appoints a Secretary from among the members.

Next in the hierarchy, is the Mandal Committee which consists of a President and not more than 24 members at least 3 of whom shall be women and 3 of Scheduled Caste (SC) or Scheduled Tribe(ST). President and members shall be elected by all the elected members of the local committees of the mandal. The President of Mandal nominates not more than 3 Vice Presidents, one General Secretary, one Treasurer and 3 Secretaries.

Next in the hierarchy, are the District Committees, which consist of a President and not more than 44 members and at least 4 of whom shall be women and 4 belonging to SC/ST. Members of all the elected Mandal committees in the district elect the President and members of the committee. The President nominates from amongst the members of the committee not more than 4 Vice Presidents, one general Secretary, one Treasurer and not more than 4 Secretaries.

Out of these at least one should be a women and one belonging to SC/ST.

On the state level comes the State Council which consists of members elected by the district units, 10% of party legislators are to be elected by all the members of the legislative party. 10% of the party parliament members from the state, all members of national council from the state, all former state Presidents, all members of the state executive, all office bearers of regional committee, leaders of the party in state assembly and state council, Presidents and General Secretaries of district committees in the state, state Presidents of allied morchas and cells, party Presidents/Chairman of corporations, municipalities, Zila Parishads and blocks, not more than 25 co-opted members.

State executive - consists of a President and not more than 60 members at least 5 of whom shall be women and 5 belonging to SC/ST to be nominated by state Presidents. The President is elected by the members of the state council from some categories as mentioned in the constitution. The President nominates from among members of the executive not more than 5 Vice Presidents, 3 General Secretaries, one Treasurer and 5 Secretaries. Out of these officers at least one has to be a woman, one SC and one ST. A list of members of the state executive of Himachal Pradesh is given in Appendix V. National council consists of members elected by

state council, 10% of the party members of Parliament, all former national Presidents, all state Presidents, leaders of the party in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, leaders of party in state assemblies, councils and metropolitan council, coopted members (not more than 40) all members of national executive and all India Presidents of Allied morchas and cells. Members of state council (of particular categories) shall elect members for National Council equal to the number of Lok Sabha seats allocated to that state, provided that these members shall include a minimum number of persons belonging to SC/ST equal to the number reserved for them from that state. The National President is elected by an electoral college consisting of members of national council and members of state council.

National Executive - The President nominates the members of the National Executive which shall not be more than 74, of whom at least 7 of them shall be women and 7 SC/ST. The President nominates 7 Vice Presidents, 5 general Secretaries, one of these to be General Secretary (organisation)<sup>36</sup> One treasurer and not more than 7 secretaries. Out of the office bearers, at least 2 shall be women and 2 belonging to SC and 2 to ST.

A list of the members of National Executive is given in Appendix II. The President holds the post for 2 years and he cannot hold the post consecutively for more than 2 full terms.

Plenary session is held once in 4 years and is presided over by the President. All the members of National Council, all the members of state council, all the members of party in Parliament, all members of party in the state legislature. Special sessions of the party are held if the National Executive decides so or if the majority of state executives, by resolution make a request to the National President to convene a special session.

Parliamentary board consists of the party President and 8 other members, one will be the leader of the party in the parliament, party President as Chairman for the purpose of coordinating the parliament activities.

The organisation of the BJP is not just formal but legal, operative and strong. It strictly follows the rules set in the constitution. After every 2 years it has its Presidential elections. The strict following of the constitution makes the organisation strong. The RSS background of the members brings discipline, obedience, order in the party and a sense of brotherhood among the members of the party.

#### Organisational Structure of BJP

President

National Level	----	--- National Council
		--- National Executive
State Level	----	--- State council
		--- State executive

Regional Level

District Level

Mandal Level

Local Level

The party has different morches for youth, women, SC, ST, farmers and minorities both at the state level and the national level. For a list of head of the morcha at national level see Appendix III and at state level in H.P. see Appendix VI. The party has incharges for different states who look into the working of the party in that state. For a list of the work allocation area wise see Appendix IV. In states there is a district incharge for each district. For a list of district incharges in Himachal pradesh, see Appendix VI.

The party should broaden its outlook and not restrict themselves as a party of one community. It should move away from being a single issue party. If it wants to survive in the competition it ought to give more serious thought to the social and economic problems of the country and try to expand its base not on communal basis but on social basis.

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## CHAPTER - 4

### DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF THE BJP IN HIMACHAL PRADESH : 1980 to 1989

Modern Politics in Himachal Pradesh is the outcome of the Praja Mandal movement. Later on, after independence the Praja Mandals merged into the Congress. The development of political parties in Himachal Pradesh thereafter has been mostly an outflow of National politics, the only mentionable exception has been the Lok Raj Party which was regional Party.

Bhartiya Jana Sangh started functioning in Himachal Pradesh, 5 months prior to its conversion as an all India Party on October 21, 1951. The organisational growth of the party remained slow and stunted.<sup>1</sup> Firstly because it failed to set up its organisational network in rural areas. Secondly, the party for a long time did not set up an independent unit for the Pradesh. Himachal Pradesh party unit functioned as appendage of Punjab unit and remained tagged to it from 1951-1966 a period of 15 years. This was done by the party deliberately because the party leadership did not believe in the existence of Himachal Pradesh as a separate entity. It always worked for its merger with Punjab. This line was adopted because Jan Sangh as a party had been committed ideologically to larger and bigger states.<sup>2</sup> The failure of the party to get the Pradesh merged into Punjab, it's founding state and the continued existence

of the Pradesh as a separate entity had proved a great set back to the organisational growth of the party. Its continued support for Maha Punjab remained a stumbling block in its attempts to strike roots in Himachal Pradesh.

By the year 1961, there began to develop a consciousness amongst the Himachal party workers for the retention of Himachal Pradesh as a separate unit. This made the higher echelons of the party realise the importance of setting up a separate unit of the party in Himachal Pradesh. A separate unit of the party was set up on November 1, 1966.

The merger of some areas<sup>3</sup> of Punjab into Himachal in 1966 strengthened the party organisation in the state and in 1967 Jan Sangh became the largest opposition party in the state Assembly. Though it was not in a position to provide an alternative to the Congress government. In 1967 Lok Sabha elections the party increased its vote percentage from 4.5% of votes in 1962 to 19.1% votes in 1967. Though it could not secure any seat, the party started to break the dominance of the Congress in both the Lok Sabha and the Vidhan Sabha. Other political parties were only formally on the political map of the state and never had much influence in the state.

The difficult terrain, lack of means of communication and the rough weather made it difficult for any political party to reach far off areas of Himachal Pradesh. Congress

had the governmental machinery at its disposal and so it could reach far flung areas. BJS had to face all these difficulties, but the devoted cadre soon started penetrating the hilly areas. Some of the villages in far flung areas were completely cut off from the civilization. Even after ten years of independence some of the villages just knew the Congress party and some even did not know that India had gained Independence. The people knew the Congress as the party of the nationalist movement and had faith in it. In these circumstances it was difficult for BJS to spread its message. The RSS cadres started Shakhas in the villages and towns to propagate their message of Bharatiya Sanskriti. The policy of rebuilding Bharat on the basis of Bhartiya Sanskriti and Maryada was a catchy slogan. BJS was more popular with the new areas as the organisational network was already widespread in this area, before their merger with Himachal Pradesh. In old areas it took some time to tighten its grasp. But the feeling in old areas that BJS was a party of new areas, existed. In 1960's and 70's, BJS had a restricted base. It was called the party of businessmen, middle class people and the party of the higher castes of Hindu (Brahmins and Rajputs). In Himachal Pradesh, it was also known as the party of the agricultural zone opposed to the horticultural zone. Himachal Pradesh can be divided into 2 zone the horticultural zone and the agricultural zone. The horticulture zone is in the old areas which were originally

Himachal Pradesh. Agriculture zone lies in the new areas i.e. the areas that were merged to Himachal Pradesh in 1966. Since the merger of these areas in Himachal Pradesh there has been a feeling, in the people, that these two areas are not equal. The policies of the Congress government, favouring the horticultural zone, further widened this gap. This feeling of difference is being exploited by the politicians to gain votes.

In the 1980's BJP increased its support base and now it was not merely a "brahmin-baniya" party but had its supporters among Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and the intelligentsia also.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh entered the election fray in the very first general elections in 1952, failed to win any seat in the Assembly as well as the Lok Sabha. It was only in 1967 that it won 7 seats in the Vidhan Sabha and 13.87% of valid votes. Table 7 and 8 below show the electoral performance of BJS/BJP in Assembly elections as well as Lok Sabha elections.

**Table 7**

**Electoral Performance of BJS/BJP in the Assembly Elections  
1967-1993**

	1952	1967	1972	1977	1982	1985	1990	1993
No. of seats won	--	7	5	53	29	7	46	8
% of votes	3.3	13.87	7.75	49	35.0	32.0	42.9	35.6
Total Seats	36	68	68	68	68	68	68	68

Source : V.B. Singh, and Bose Shankar - State Elections in India-Data Handbook on Vidhan Sabha Elections 1952-85.

Table 8

Electoral performance of BJS/BJP in Lok Sabha Elections in Himachal Pradesh 1952-1991.

	1952	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1984	1989	1991
No. of Seats won (Contested)	0(2)	--	0(2)	0(3)	0(2)	4(4)	0(3)	3(4)	2(4)
% of voted	10.7	--	4.5	19.1	10.6	57.2	23.3	45.3	42.79
Total Seats	3	4	4	6	4	4	4	4	4

Source : Same as Table 7

Incidentally most of the seats won by the party in 1967 assembly elections were from the new areas that were merged in Himachal Pradesh after 1966. A section of the people in these Hindu dominated areas, in the wake of the Punjab-Suba movement developed close affiliations with the Jana Sangh party as it favoured 'Hindi' and 'Devnagiri script' and put a stiff resistance against the Akalis. The Hindu dominated areas of the erstwhile Punjab also developed a feeling that they were discriminated against, by the Punjab government. Some grievances of this nature continued to exist even after the transfer of these areas to Himachal Pradesh.<sup>4</sup> The dichotomies now expressed in the form of new areas vs the old areas or the apple potato belt vs the rest of the state.<sup>5</sup>

Most rival groups, particularly the BJS started accusing the ruling Congress of ignoring the interest of the people

belonging to the non apple potato belt. Incidentally all the Congress Chief Ministers,<sup>6</sup> till now have been from the apple potato belt and always represented, protected and promoted the interests of the orchardists. The BJP Chief Minister belonged to the agriculture zone or the new area. Jana Sangh while accusing the Congress (I) of ignoring the interests of new areas also took advantage of the anti Congress wave in the entire country. The Congress monopoly, was challenged for the first time in the state in 1967 elections. See table 3.

In the assembly elections of 1972, the Congress party won hands down. People thanked the Congress for granting the status of statehood to Himachal Pradesh in 1971 and BJP could manage only 5 seats with a vote percent of 7.75 against the total of 53 seats going to Congress with a percentage of 49.09 votes. (For vote % and seats of Congress see Table 3, Chapter 2). BJP had some base in the new areas but in the old areas the party position was not so good. The penetration of the party into rural areas was negligible. It was totally an urban party. The policies pursued by the Congress ministry in the merged areas particularly after 1972 widened the gulf between the old areas and the new. The slow pace of development in the new areas contributed to the increase in influence of Jana Sangh. In January 1977 Dr. Parmar's long Chief Ministership ended and Thakur Ram Lal became the new Congress Chief Minister.

## Bharatiya Jana Sangh in Power - 1977-1980

The Proclamation of Emergency by Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1975 crippled the entire democratic process in the country at all levels and created great resentment among the people. As a result the state of Himachal Pradesh, like most North Indian states came to be swayed by the anti-emergency wave in 1977. Consequently the Congress party lost all its Parliamentary seats in 1977 elections in Himachal Pradesh and could gain a vote percent of 38.56 compared to its previous gain of 78.85% votes. The Janata alliance (alliance of 5 parties formed to counter Congress(I))<sup>7</sup> won all the 4 parliamentary seats in the state with a vote percent of 57.2. In the assembly elections also the Janata party captured 53 seats with 49% votes and the Congress facing the defeat for the first time could gain just 9 seats with 27.74% votes. The first non-Congress government in the state was headed by Mr. Shanta Kumar of BJS. At the time of the formation of the Janata party in Himachal Pradesh, only Jana Sangh would provide the core leadership as other parties like Lok Raj Party, Swatantra Party, Congress (O) etc. had 5.02%, 0.03%, 2.48% votes in 1972.

Mr. Shanta Kumar, unlike his predecessors belonged to the non apple belt i.e. from the merged areas. The BJP had fulfilled the first promise of giving a Chief Minister from new areas. The people for the first time not only saw a non-Congress government working in the state but also saw a



leader out to do justice to the discriminated new areas in respect of its development projects. The Janata government with a down to earth approach tried to appreciate some basic needs of rural areas.<sup>8</sup> The government adopted 'Antodaya' with a view to break the vicious circle of economic inequalities.<sup>9</sup> Special attention was paid to drinking water facility which was the basic need of the people. Taps were provided in nearly 1800 villages.<sup>10</sup> Janata government started the food for work programme. Irrigation facilities were given to more villages, primary schools were opened in villages. The most popular achievement as claimed by the Janata government was the switch over to Hindi as official language at all levels of administration. This marked a sharp contrast in the lukewarm attitude of the erstwhile Congress (I) government towards this language. But this claim of the Janata party could not become a reality. The Janata government opened an Agricultural University in the new area (Palampur). The policies adopted by the Janata government soon placed the Chief Minister, Mr. Shanta Kumar, high in the expectations of the people. Most activities of the government, to begin with, gained appreciation and added to his leadership and reputation. The old areas of Himachal did not find him a patron for furthering their interests and alleged that he was against old areas. It was now the turn of apple potato belt to feel aggrieved and discriminated against.

Since it was mainly the Jana Sangh faction which was virtually ruling under the name of Janata Party BJS fully utilised the opportunity to penetrate into different areas. As a result, the BJP faction of the Janta Party, in the subsequent years emerged as a formidable force to provide alternative to the Congress party.

#### **BJP in Opposition - 1980-1989**

In 1980 Janata government collapsed because of internal fights and the break up of the Janata Party. Congress (I) under the leadership of Thakur Ram Lal formed the government. The BJS members seperated themselves from the Janata Party and formed Bhartiya Janata Party. 23 members of the 68 member Assembly were with Mr. Shanta Kumar. In 1982. Assembly elections were held. The results of the elections created a confusing political situation in the state (See Table 7). For the first time in the political history of the state no political party could win a clear majority and both could win a clear majority and both contending parties for power were almost evenly placed. The Congress party having a slight edge of two seats. BJP had 29 seats with a vote percent of 35 and Congress(I) just ahead with 31 seats and 43.53% of votes. Both the parties tried to win over the independents after the refusal of the Janata party to support any of them. Ultimately the Congress (I) under the leadership of Thankur Ram Lal succeeded in the game of

horse trading when 5 out of 6 independents extended their support to him"<sup>11</sup>

The table below gives the party wise seat and percentage of votes.

**Table 9**  
**Result of 1982 Assembly Elections in Himachal Pradesh**

Parties	No. of Seats	% of votes
Congress (I)	31	43.53
BJP	29	35.15
Janta Party	2	4.77
Independent & Others	6	16.55
Total	68	100.00

Source : Ramesh Kumar Verma - op.cit. p.324.

Thakur Ram Lal had the backing of the apple potato lobby with all its resources, human and material to ensure the formation of government at any cost and they succeeded in scoring a point in their favour. Independents played a crucial role in this election and it was their support which decided the party to be in the seat of power. The independents had a high % of votes with 16.55%. BJP with 29 seats became the largest opposition, having missed the seat of power with just a few seats. The failure of the BJP to form the government disappointed the people of Kangra region who saw shanta Kumar as the leader from their region and who worked for the development of the region.

The supporters of the BJP in Kangra began to think in terms of change of leadership and a dissident lobby was reported to have emerged under the leadership of Thakur Jagdev Chand, a very strong Rajput leader from Kangra region. Now the BJP was not a homogeneous party but was a divided house with many factions grouped under different leaders.<sup>12</sup>

The differences in opinion between the two leaders i.e. Thankur Jagdev Chand and Shanta Kumar is persisting till now and raises its head from time to time. Sometimes it reached such a level that split in the party seemed inevitable. But the party echelons were successful in keeping both of them from taking any drastic action that would harm the party.

The main achievement of the Ram Lal government was the headway made in the field of Hydel power generation. An agreement with the government of India and Haryana was reached for the construction of 1020 MW Nathpa Jhakri Project. The 7 crore Giri Project which would irrigate the Paonta Valley was also completed during his regime. Many villages were linked with power and nearly 500 villages got drinking water.<sup>13</sup>

Since 1980 BJP had become an opposition party in the true sense of the term as now it was a party which mattered it had 29 seats in the assembly and a backing of 35.15% of the people. So the BJP fulfilling the role of the opposition

party, criticised the wrong moves of the ruling party. The most talked about issue was corruption and nepotism with serious charges against Chief Minister Ram Lal. The timber scandal which involved the son and son in law of Mr. Ram Lal, brought up great criticism from the opposition parties. The smuggling of timber out of Himachal Pradesh and the illicit felling of trees had increased during the rule of Thakur Ram Lal.<sup>14</sup> In spite of strong measures taken by him like nationalisation of forests in the state, he could not escape from the allegation of being the protector of the forest mafia.<sup>15</sup> (The forest lobby of Shimla region is said to have occupied a central position during the regime of Thakur Ram Lal) Ram Lal government came to be known as the "Jangal Kato Sarkar" (tree felling government). Cases were filed against his close relations and his close associates involving them in the illicit timber trade.

BJP raised a lot of hue and cry in the assembly relating to the illicit trade and demanded the resignation of the Chief Minister on charges of corruption and nepotism. They alleged him of ignoring the new areas as was done by his Congress predecessors. The BJP wanted the Congress government to provide adequate water and electricity in all the villages. and wanted the government to give special attention to agriculture.

Another scandal which rocked the Ram Lal government was that of the distribution of Liquor licences. Charges of nepotism were put against the Chief Minister in this case also. The charges of corruption and nepotism on the Chief Minister and his links with the forest mafia made him lose his credibility in the eyes of the high command. So ultimately the High command had to think in terms of the change of leadership to regain credibility and he was finally asked to resign from Chief Ministership. The resignation of Thankur Ram Lal made his supporters angry. If Dr. Jagannath Misra, Congress (I) in Bihar and Mr. Bhajan Lal in Haryana managed to survive critical public notice of their highly controversial careers, there was no reason for Mr. Ram Lal to be exposed to such condemnation especially when the complaints against his son and son in law were still subjective.<sup>16</sup>

Mr. Virbhadhra Singh was made the new Chief Minister. The Congress High Command had kept the balance of power and made the next Chief Minister from the Shimla region. Virbhadhra Singh came to power with the image of Mr. Clean or a person with spotless personality. He made it a point to eliminate the growing feelings of deprivation among the two areas of the state and took some measures to emotionally integrate the people of the state. And he succeeded to a great extent in building an image, cross cutting the regional lines, as a leader of the whole state by balancing

the pressures of regional forces. The members of the council of ministers started touring all the areas to gauge the local needs and aspirations. Major offices were shifted out of Shimla to other district head quarters.<sup>17</sup> This brought a lot of criticism from the BJP, as in their view the concerned ministers also did not know about the shift of headquarters. It was done suddenly. In every department part of the allocation was set apart to minimise regional disparities.<sup>18</sup>

In 1984 the complexion of national politics changed after the tragic assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, on 31 October, 1984. Her elder son Rajiv Gandhi was sworn in as the new Prime Minister of India to fill the political vacuum created by the sudden death of Mrs. Gandhi. Soon after the assumption of office, the new Prime Minister decided to dissolve the existing Lok Sabha and seek fresh mandate from the people. The mid term poll for Lok Sabha were held in December 1984 and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was voted to power with thumping majority probably capitalizing on the sympathy wave generated by the brutal murder of his mother. This wave also influenced the elections in Himachal Pradesh. All the 4 Parliamentary seats were bagged by Congress (I) nominees with 68.65% votes. BJP could muster only 23.3% votes.

The so called "Pro-Congress Political Environment" throughout the country provided the golden opportunity to the Chief Minister Virbhadrha Singh, to hold mid-term elections in the state and pressure put on him by the old political guards in the cabinet and consolidate his hold over the state administration. The only worthwhile opposition party in the state was the BJP which could have given a tough fight to the Congress (I) in the state but it was totally demoralised after the humiliating defeat in the recently held parliamentary elections. The strategy of Chief Minister succeeded and Congress was voted to power with a huge majority of 63.7% votes and 55 seats in the assembly. BJP could secure just 32% of votes and 7 seats.

The former Chief Minister Shanta Kumar himself lost the elections. The BJP had again raised the question of favouritism shown by Congress(I) to the apple potato belt. They gave the option to the people of a Chief Minister from the new areas and reminded the people of the work done by BJP in 1977-80. The corruption of the Congress leaders was also brought to the fore. BJP accused the Congress for raising prices and increase in government expenditure, unproductive expenditure and misuse of government machinery etc.

The people simple but politicised in their own way have been traditional supporters of the Congress (I). The



influence and respect commanded by late Mr. Y.S. Parmar father figure in the state's politics, did a lot to keep this area in the Congress fold. Other parties could manage to keep small pockets of influence which was just not enough to bring them anywhere near the power game.<sup>19</sup>

BJP was the main opposition political party in the Assembly but it failed to play an effective role of the opposition because of the low strength in Assembly. On many occasions the leadership of Congress I and BJP appreciated the role of each other and the latter behaved as friendly opposition . For nearly two years this atmosphere of friendly opposition continued. In an article in Indian Express this period was termed as "Honeymoon" between the Virbhadhra Singh government and the BJP.<sup>20</sup> During this so called honeymoon period the role of the opposition parties was negligible with just token opposition. But this did not stay for a long time. The BJP realizing that the elections were approaching, they woke from the deep slumber and started opposing the Congress government's policies.

The achievements of Virbhadhra Singh government included that of the appointment of Lok Ayukta, agreements to the execution of 2 hydro electric projects. The question of royalty was raised by Virbhadhra Singh government.<sup>21</sup>, adoption of 20 point programme, providing telecommunication facilities to remote areas.

The Honeymoon period ended with the decision of the Virbhadrha Singh government to increase the passenger tax and the introduction of the goods entry tax. This gave a popular issue to the opposition on which to grill the government.<sup>22</sup> BJP made use of the opportunity to criticise the government both in the house and also outside the house by giving a call for state wide bandh against the increase in passenger tax and the introduction of goods entry tax. BJP members Mr. Jagdev Chand, Mr. Rikhi Ram Kaundal were more open in criticising the government. BJP also criticised the government of price rise and non-availability of goods especially sugar. Disappearance of sugar from the market gave rise to slogans like - "Sukhubhai chini kittee lukayee" (brother Sukhram where did you hide the sugar)<sup>23</sup> and "Sukhram chandra, chini logayee sadhe pandrah" (inauspicious Sukhram has raised the sugar price to Rs. 15.50)<sup>24</sup>

The issue of lathicharge on the farmers marching towards the state secretariat, demanding support price for apples, on 19 August, 1987, was criticised both by the Press and the BJP. In 1978 also the farmers had agitated for the support price of potatoes but the then Janta Government under Shanta Kumar did not lathicharge but tried to settle the issue amicably. The Congress could also do this instead of lathicharging the farmers, was what BJP felt. BJP got a strong point to criticise the Congress government. Further,

in order to avoid the news of lathicharge to reach to the far flung areas of apple belt, the police seized the newspapers in the early hours of 21 August 1987 before they were despatched for circulation on the flimsy ground that some explosive material, regarding the Punjab problem was contained in the newspapers bundles.<sup>25</sup> This step was criticised by the press and political parties as undemocratic move to curb the freedom of expression guaranteed by the constitution.

Ultimately the government had to bow down and the support price for apple was announced. The apple and potato lobby were turning against the Congress(I) as their interest did not appear to be safe in the hands of the Congress (I). The forest lobby which played a dominant role during the Chief Ministership of Thakur Ram Lal was already against the Congress (I).<sup>26</sup> The apple and the forest lobby have a big role in the politics of the state. Not to forget the role of employees lobby.

In 1989 there was a month long strike by NGO and junior engineers Thakur Jagdev Chand (leader of the BJP in the Assembly) criticised the government for the discriminative approach towards its employees which led to strikes. In 1986 Jagdev Chand demanded that Virbhadrha Singh should own responsibility for missappropriation of the scab relief fund.

the people of the rising prices and unemployment. A rally at the end of the padyatra was also organised in Shimla on 9th April 1989 which was addressed by popular BJP leaders like Atal Behari Vajpayee, Sushma Swaraj from Haryana, Bhairon Singh Shekhawat from Rajasthan.<sup>29</sup> BJP criticised the Congress for top heavy administration i.e. concentration of power at the top and wanted decentralization of power.

#### **Internal Conflicts in the BJP**

While BJP was criticising the Congress (I) government differences in top leadership of the party's state unit surfaced. Grouping came to the surface during the Rasta Roko stir to oppose the goods entry tax. Some of the influential leaders of BJP like Daulat Ram Chauhan preferred to be silent spectators and did not participate in the agitation. As is well known, there are two factions in the Himachal Pradesh unit of BJP. One is led by Shanta Kumar and the other by Jagdev Chand. The differences in opinion is also interpreted on caste basis as Mr. Shanta Kumar is a Brahmin and Thakur Jagdev Chand a Rajput.

There were differences between the views of the two factions regarding the party's approach to the policies and programmes of the Chief Minister Mr. Virbhadrha Singh. Mr. Shanta Kumar party President of the state unit of BJP demanded the resignation of Mr. Virbhadrha Singh in view of various charges of alleged corruption against him, but Mr.

Jagdev Chand senior vice President of the state unit of the party and leader of the BJP group in the state assembly asserted at a press conference that he did not see any reason for demanding the Chief Minister's resignation.<sup>30</sup> Mr. Jagdev Chand was in favour of the completion of full five years by the Virbhadrha Singh government, as it was a democratically elected government. He is in record stating that since there has been increase in corruption in all the departments of the state administration. But suddenly there was a change in the attitude of Mr. Jagdev Chand, which made him go against the declared policy of the party. His stance in defending the Chief Minister had intrigued both the party members and the people equally, who in the past have observed him spewing fire against Mr. Virbhadrha Singh and his government.<sup>31</sup> This issue was also linked with the caste factor. Mr. Jagdev Chand is a Rajput and so is Mr. Virbhadrha Singh. In Himnachel Pradesh politics, there has been the dominance of two castes only ie. the Rajputs and the Brahmins. All the Chief Ministers, except Mr. Shanta Kumar, were Rajputs.

But there was more to this issue than just the casteist factor and that is the fight for superamacy by Mr. Shanta Kumar and Mr. Jagdev Chand. Both of them try to lure more supporters to their side so as to convince the central leadership of their popularity and to head the state unit of the party.

A split in the state unit of the BJP seemed eminent following a tough stand taken on the suspension of a member Dr. Sushant, by the party President Mr. Shanta Kumar. According to Mr. Shanta Kumar Dr. Rajan Sushant had collected Rs. 21,000 on his own but he had not deposited the amount with the party, instead of repeated reminders and alleged Dr. Sushant for bungling the party funds. When Dr. Sushant failed to do so, he was suspended from the party for six years by Mr. Shanta Kumar on 30 September 1988.<sup>32</sup> The other side of the story, as given by Mr. Jagdev Chand (supporter of Dr. Sushant) is that Mr. Shanta Kumar had earlier removed Dr. Sushant from the Presidentship of Yuva Morcha, as he was becoming very popular with the young people when his tactics did not help, he started accusing Dr. Sushant of bungling party funds and finally suspending him from the party for six years.<sup>33</sup>

These inner tensions in the party raise their head now and then, but the stalwarts of the party have, till now, succeeded in hushing up these fights and have managed to keep the party united. BJP in Himachal had played the role of an opposition party from 1980-1990 and is now again in opposition since 1993. It remains to see what kind of opposition does the BJP play now, would it be like the earlier Honeymoon period from 1983-1986 or like the aggressive opposition party from 1986-'90. It is an

undeniable fact that the BJP has increased its strength in the state. It never gained such high percentage of votes as it now gains.

### Social Base

BJP in the early 80's was known as the party of the Hindus especially the upper caste (Brahmins and Rajputs) and had a base among the small and medium traders and shopkeeper of North India and Central India. It was an urban party with very less influence in the rural areas. But today in the 90's BJP has a far more expanded electoral and social base. The BJP could expand its base with the help of its sister organisation VHP-RSS and the temple issue that was central issue for rallying the masses after 1985. It is not a party of the illiterate masses attuned to the traditional views of politics. It has many of the intelligentsia among its members. Today, it's social base has extended to the South of India also. In West Bengal it has become the third powerful force in the state.<sup>34</sup>

In the 1993 assembly elections the BJP did not make further gains in the vote share, it has successfully consolidated the gains it made during 1989-91.<sup>35</sup> Its impressive vote share even where it has lost elections indicates a fairly high and stable support base for it, enough to keep it in the race for power in the state of Himachal Pradesh. BJP's consolidation is in sharp contrast

to the rapid erosion of Janta Dal's vote share.<sup>36</sup> In 1990 BJP secured 42% of votes in the Vidhan Sabha elections in Himachal Pradesh. In 1993 it came down to 35.6%. Despite its rout it has managed to retain a respectable vote share all over Himachal Pradesh.

In Himachal Pradesh, BJP's support base is more wide spread in the merged areas more popularly known as "New Himachal". The reason being that uptill 1966 BJP did not set up a separate unit of the party in Himachal as it did not believe in the separate existence of the state and the party cadres were very active in Punjab. So it already had a base in the merged areas of Himachal Pradesh, which was earlier with Punjab.

It can be said that the agitation for land reform particularly in the merged region was a major cause for the influence of the party among the peasantry. The party also exploited the sentiments of the people of the merged areas by supporting the idea of Chief Ministers from the merged areas. The Congress Chief Ministers were all from the old areas and the policies adopted by earlier Congress governments gave BJP an issue to increase its base. In merged areas also, the party's base lies mainly in the trading community, workers, peasants and employees. It has consistently fought and raised issues to protect the interests of the traders. Trade in Himachal Pradesh has been



dominated by the people of merged areas. Even in the old areas, the trade is mostly under the people who have migrated from the merged areas. This provides the party with a cadre in the old regions also. BJP also has strong hold over the Byopar Mandal of the state and even at the district level.

The party has reasonably strong base among the employees, youth, students and some sizeable base among the rich rural peasantry. In the Pradesh the party has been leading many agitations regarding the welfare of the government employees. The agitation of 1971 by N.G.O's is worth mentioning. BJP's direct or indirect support to the employees has strengthened its base among the employees. This base was shaken after the unpopular decision of the Shanta Kumar government in 1990 regarding the policy of "No Work No Pay" (This is discussed in the next chapter). The support of employees is of particular importance in Himachal Pradesh, as the employees are of considerable importance in shaping public opinion. The employee lobby along with the apple and forest lobby can hold the government for ransom.

Among the students, it has its own wing known as Akhil Bharatiya Vidhyarthi Parishad (ABVP) which has a strong hold in universities and provides a cadre to the party. ABVP has helped the party in increasing its support base. Among the workers the party has been working through its organisation

called Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS). Of and on it has raised the issues about the daily wages of the workers facility of residence for the workers etc. But it's base among the workers is not very strong. It has been, generally, inferred that the party is not very serious about the problems of the workers.

"The base of the party lies in the traders in urban areas and rich peasantry and petty bourgeois in rural areas. The class character is clear from it's economic programme. The party opposed the abolition of land revenue on uneconomic holdings of poor farmers because such abolition will compel the government to levy agriculture income tax which will affect the rich peasantry who provide support to the party in rural areas."<sup>37</sup> Till today, the strong and solid base of the party is among the rural bourgeoisie. The party increased its support among the rural poor also in 1977 by following the policy of antodya which was very successful but in 1990 this same policy did not get much acclamation, as the goods of the programme could not seep down to the lowest level.

In the politics of the state 3 lobbies played a dominant role, i.e. the apple lobby, forest lobby, and the employee lobby. Before 1990 the party had good rapport with the employees lobby. But after 1990 (implementation of no work, no pay policy) these relations got strained. But regarding

the support base of the party among the apple and forest lobby, it was never very strong. In 1990 elections, the apple and the forest lobby supported BJP because of the Congress policy of not giving subsidy to the orchardist and lathicharging them and the forest lobby was angry with the Congress because they had filed cases against the forest mafia. Leaving this period the forest and the apple lobby always supported the Congress (I).

BJP was known as the "brahmin-baniya" party. If we see the leadership of the party, today also the party leadership is dominated by the higher castes. In fact, even in the Congress(I), the leadership consists of high caste people. But the lower caste have always supported the Congress (I) and with the coming of Janata Dal they switched over to Janata Dal because they found some party working for them only. But the division and fights in the Janata Dal made the lower caste people to support the Congress. In fact, the votes were divided between BJP and Congress (I).

One thing is clear, BJP does not have a wide social base as the Congress(I), but the way it has expanded its base since its inception is remarkable whether it be for the Ayodhya issue or an anti Congress propaganda by the party cadres, it has undeniably become the second major party in the state and the only alternative political party to the Congress(I) in the state.

Himachal Pradesh is perhaps the only state in the country where there has actually been two parties contending for power since 1966. No other political party other than the BJP and the Congress (I) commands a substantial following in the state, though some other parties could claim to have small pockets of influence here and there.<sup>38</sup>

When in power, the party gets the opportunity to increase its popularity among the masses, as it has the government machinery at its disposal. The Congress from 1952 had ample time and opportunity to increase its base. Moreover it had a base from the times of National movement and the years after independence when Congress was in power, it provided with the basic infrastructure in the state, increasing the popularity of the party. In 1977, when BJP came to power under the Janata banner, it tried to increase its base by following policies for the welfare of the people. BJP again got this opportunity in 1990, when the people of the state, again gave it a chance to prove itself. The next chapter deals with this.

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## CHAPTER 5

### POLITICS OF THE BJP IN HIMACHAL PRADESH (1989-92)

In 1989 Lok Sabha elections were held in the state as well as in the country. The results of the 1989 Lok Sabha elections showed the desire for change, by public. The reason for the debacle of Congress in 1989 Lok Sabha elections could be traced to the anger of the apple growers lobby and the employees. Though the ruling Congress (I) doled out a massive dose of concessions to the employees yet the reasons that had made the highly obliged government employees vote against the ruling party was the indiscriminate transfer policy. Except for the employee leaders there was hardly any government servant who had not been shifted from one place to another.<sup>1</sup> The Congress government also gave innumerable concessions to the apple lobby by way of support price for the apples, but however this did not work. The people remembered the lathicharge on apple growers in Shimla. The Congress had pinned up hopes of conquering the low caste vote, which finally went to the Janata Dal.

The BJP and other opposition parties criticised the Rajiv Gandhi government of corruption (Bofors, issue) inability to solve the Punjab and Kashmir problem, over-bureaucratization etc. As a result of this anti-Congress feeling BJP romped home 3 of the 4 Lok Sabha seats in

Himachal.<sup>2</sup> It gained 45.23% of the votes. Congress(I) had to be contended with 1 seat and 41.95% votes, Janata Dal gained 7.2% of votes.

In 1990 Assembly elections, the anti Congress mood of the people still existed. BJP made seat adjustments with the Janata Dal leaders who agreed to contest 17 seats out of the total 68 seats in the state assembly. Riding the crest of an unprecedented popular vote the BJP won 2/3rds majority in Himachal Pradesh and formed the government in the state after a lapse of 10 years. Out of the 51 seats that BJP contested, it romped home with 44 seats and together, with its poll ally, the Janata Dal with 11 seats, secured more than the 3/4th mark. Having suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the BJP - Janata Dal combine, the Congress (I) returned to the new house with a greatly reduced strength of only 8 which was even one less than its score during 1977 Janata wave. With this, the situation in the new house was almost a reverse of that of the outgoing house, in which Congress (I) had 55 seats, BJP 7, and, Independent 2 seats and Lok Dal had 1 seat. In 1990 elections Communist Party of India entered the state assembly after a lapse of 23 years with one seat. The urge for change was witnessed both in the new areas and old areas. People of the new area (merged areas) wanted the Chief Minister from their area and BJP promised to give them a Chief Minister from new areas. As BJP is the only party of any consequence, after the



Congress(I) in the state, the anti congress vote goes to the BJP. The changed circumstances at the centre, with a National Front government ruling, created favourable atmosphere for the alliance between the BJP and the Janata Dal.

Both the major parties i.e. the Congress (I) and the BJP had infighting leaders. In the Congress it was Virbhadrha Singh and Sukhram, fighting for power and in the BJP, it was Shanta Kumar and Jagdev Chand trying to show their dominance. The main slogan of BJP was - This time the BJP government will serve in the following style - check on price rise, waving off the loans of the farmers, cheap rations in every village a water tap in every kitchen, work for everyone remunerative price of the produce of the farmer. This slogan contains the gist of the BJP manifesto. Shanta Kumar talked proudly of his first innings as the Chief Minister in 1977. BJP promised to again launch Antodaya programme for the poor. The manifesto made special promise to look after the interests of the apple and potato growers in the state. This had been done obviously to match the Congress (I) propaganda that the BJP would ignore the economic interests of the potato and apple growers. BJP launched its election campaign by mass contact programmes. There was a padyatra by President of the state unit Shanta Kumar. The pre election scenario in Himachal was a season

full of rallies. The first salvo was fired by the Congress (I) by organising an impressive Panchayati Raj convention at Una followed by a huge rally at Shimla by BJP. The Congress was jittery about the successful rally by BJP in the Congress stronghold area. This rally was followed by Janata Dal's rally at Theog, Kullu and Mandi. BJP held another rally at Palampur. Competing in the race of rallies Congress called another rally at Kangra which was a BJP dominated area.

BJP took up the issue of Ram Janamabhoomi and building a temple there. They asked the people to vote to BJP in the name of Ram. They criticised the Pseudo secularist nature of the Congress and the failure of the Congress government both at the centre and the state. On the other hand Congress asked for a positive vote for their policies and programmes during the last 5 years in which it was in power in Himachal Pradesh. They criticised BJP of hatred towards the minorities especially Muslims. BJP was exploiting Ram.

With the government machinery at its disposal the Congress Party could not please the people. Shanta Kumar used his absence from the Assembly for five years as a God given opportunity to build a "Pucca" network of BJP workers down to the polling station level.<sup>3</sup> BJP workers claimed to have arisen the Hindu in every person by spreading the message of Hinduism and Hindu culture through the yatras.

But in Himachal, Ayodhya was not the issue. Ayodhya issue had a dominance in places with Muslim majority but in Himachal only 1.63% Muslim reside. Hindus are 95.77% of the population.<sup>4</sup>

The Achilles heel of the Janata Dal was its ramshackle organisational set up. It had more ambitious leaders than ground level workers. The national leaders of the party also did not give much attention to the state because there were internal problems in the party at the national level.

Congress (I) promised a job to at least one member in the family, increase in pension of the aged, setting up of a corporation for the backward classes, uniform development in the state etc.<sup>5</sup> BJP promised to give a clear government, scrape out the administrative tribunal, wages to daily workers on the pattern of Punjab etc.

Riding the wave of anti-Congressism and with the support of apple growers lobby and the forest lobby BJP came to power in Himachal Pradesh.

#### **BJP IN POWER**

BJP formed the government on 5 March 1990. It inherited a debt of Rs. 290 crores.<sup>6</sup> BJP accused the previous government of spending extravagantly and unproductively.<sup>7</sup> During the Congress rule the government machinery had been misused. To stop this misuse of government machinery and

government vehicles and to stop this unproductive expenditure, Shanta Kumar government put a restriction on the use of government vehicles, expensive opening ceremonies and lavish dinners. By putting a restriction on the use of government vehicles and telephones, Mr. Shanta Kumar claimed to have saved nearly Rs. 50,000 per month.<sup>8</sup> A high level committee was also set up to look into the expenditures of the state run offices.

BJP, in the election manifesto had promised to end the Inspector Raj. To fulfill this promise sales tax was put at the first stage. This was implemented in January 1991. This provided relief to the traders, who conduct their business by purchasing goods from within the state, from the burden of keeping accounts and filing in returns in large numbers.<sup>9</sup> A number of items were also exempted from sales tax.

To provide more relief to the farmers and small artisans the government waived off cooperative and bank loans of farmers and small artisans upto 10,000 Rs. During elections BJP had promised to provide water tap in every kitchen in the rural areas at government cost. This was to be implemented in 4 stages. But this work could be done partially as the government was dismissed in December 1992. Only 2 stages could be completed. The government made the plan of providing every Panchayat with a health centre. For this the government asked the cooperation of the people. The

people were asked to provide with a house for the doctor and the government would give them the doctor and the medicine. The government also set aside 72 crore rupees for village cleanliness.<sup>10</sup> BJP government increased the medical charges in the hospitals. This raised a lot of hue and cry from the general public as well as the opposition parties. Shanta Kumar gave the pretext of boosting up the revenue, by the increase in medical charges. These charges had remained the same for years. The antodaya families were free from these charges. Mr. C.L. Gupta<sup>11</sup> in a personal interview told the author that the Congress has given it a political colour and rose voice against it because the government employees could not reimburse this money. Later on, on the 10 November 1993 Governor Gulsher Ahmed cancelled these raised charges.

In 1977, during the Janata rule, the most popular policy of the government was the "Antodaya" programme. In 1990 election manifesto BJP had promised to start this programme again and it did fulfill its promise. Antodaya was a programme to help the poor. Through this programme cheap ration free education and facilities to start employment. The aim of the Antodaya programme is to provide the poor with maximum facilities.<sup>12</sup> The first lap of the programme started in August 1990. Under this programme 5 lakh people under the poverty line, were choosen. Cheap rations and scholarship for the students belonging to the antodya family to help them progress in the field of education were given.

The state government had decided not to implement the Mandal Commission report as it was based on caste and not economic basis. The state government formulated a scheme of upliftment of the backward classes through antodaya, in which the poor among the scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and backward classes were identified and helped. The only difference between Mandal and the BJP government's policy of Antodaya was that, only the poor got included in the programmes of Antodaya while the Mandal took into consideration the rich and well to do harijans.

Under the Antodaya programme, all the identified families were provided with loans at 4% rate of interest for all the schemes meant for their economic upliftment and to make them economically self sufficient.<sup>13</sup> Under the Antodaya scheme, Anugraha Anudan Yogna was started. This was a kind of insurance scheme. If a person aged 18-60 years and belonging to the identified Antodaya family, dies due to any cause, the family of the deceased will be given Rs. 5000/- as insurance cover. These families will not have to pay any premium. The government also started a scheme of making the poor self sufficient by giving the 50% of the total expenditure in starting some work. Another insurance scheme started by the government was in case of bus accidents. Any person dying in a bus accident of an HRTC bus (Himachal Road Transport Corporation) and is in possession of the ticket, would be given Rs. 50,000.

The Antodaya programme was a great hit as a scheme on papers, but when the implementation of the scheme came, BJP government was incapable of percolating this scheme down to the really needy. Some families took advantage of this scheme, but many poor and uneducated people were cheated by the middle men and the bureaucracy. BJP started the Janjagaran to educate the people of the policies of the government and how the people can take advantage from these policies. Ministers of the state cabinet and party leaders of the BJP toured the whole state to educate the people of the policies that were made for the good of the masses. But by the time the people became of the policies, it was too late, the BJP government was dismissed after one month of the Jangjagaran programme.

"Van lagao Rozi Kamao" (Earning livelihood through plantation of trees) this scheme tried to kill 2 birds with one stone, i.e. to beautify Himachal and protect the environment and to provide employment. A vast area could be brought under green cover and thousands could get employment from this scheme. The government decided to involve the students women and Panchayats also in this programme. This scheme envisaged the setting up of Van sewak Vatikas, Vidhyalaya Vatikas, Mahila mandal vaticas, smriti vaticas and Panchayat vaticas.<sup>14</sup> A provision of giving awards to those achieving excellent results in the field of

plantation and conservation of forests was made. A new scheme namely Catchment Area development Project, Himalya Hills (Kandi area) was launched in collaboration with the World Bank. An Integrated waste land development Project was started in Hamirpur, Mandi and Kullu districts.<sup>15</sup>

"Gaon bhi apna kam bhi apna scheme" (village is our, the work is also ours) this scheme was started with a view of enlisting people's participation in the development process. Under this scheme if a gram panchayat or an organisation offers to pay 30% of a particular development scheme to be carried out in the village, the remaining 70% would be paid by the government as a special grant in aid to the village community. Besides if some persons are interested in raising some institutions or capital assets in the rural area, the government would invest 50% of the total cost as grant in aid and the rest 50% would be taken as contribution from those persons interested to complete the work. The government hoped that such arrangements would help in building basic infrastructure in the village along with the people's participation in the development process.

"Gopal scheme" - this scheme was for the provision of veterinary hospitals in every panchayats. Under this scheme volunteer cattle rearers would be given veterinary training and then one worker would be appointed for every panchayat. These volunteers would give the facility of first aid to the



cattle in the village. New veterinary hospitals were to be set up under this scheme.

"Open government" - with the aim of taking the government more near to the masses and to solve the problems of the people at lower level only so that they don't have to waste their time and money knocking the doors of the courts. Under this scheme the district collectors and the Mandal officers sit in their offices to listen to the complaints of the public and solve their problems there and then. Another similar scheme of the BJP government was apki sarkar, apke dwar meaning "your government at your door" under this scheme a group of 3 officers headed by the district collector would camp in some interior village once in 3 months. Here the problems of the people were solved and the problems of that area identified and communicated to the government. This would relieve the people from red tapism as no file work was needed, as in courts. It was like an open durabar for all demanding justice.

"Privatisation" - The BJP government succeeded in making the central government agree, in principle, to allow private participation in the exploitation of hydel potential. The BJP government in Himachal felt that the involvement of the private sector is the only alternative to meet the resource crunch as neither the centre nor the state government has enough resources.<sup>16</sup>

The state has the capacity of producing 20 thousand MW electricity. If the private sector provides half of the total capacity i.e., 10,000 M.W. electricity then the state would get 12% royalty i.e., an income of nearly 650 crore annually without spending a single paise and nearly 60,000 people will get employment.<sup>17</sup> The state government kept the condition, in front of the private sector, of giving 12% of the total electricity produced, to Himachal Pradesh as royalty. The state electricity board also reserved the first preference to the rest of power and the company would give preference to the people of the state in employing workers. This would generate employment.

The centre has also approved to give 12% electricity free to the state on the projects built after 1990 September. By this decision, the state would get 12% free electricity from the Chamera project and the other project under construction. Along with 12% free electricity the state will also get 2.5% of the remaining power at generating cost from the Nathpa Jhakri project being executed in collaboration with the centre. The Himachal Pradesh government had signed Parwati hydel power project, of 2051 MW, with the government of Haryana, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Delhi. By this project the state will get 12% electricity free and will have to take the burden of only 5% of the cost of the project. Apart from this the Union

Ministry of Environment has cleared the 800 MW Kol dam project which will be built by foreign collaboration 126 MW Larji hydel project is under construction built solely by the state of Himachal Pradesh. The Central electricity board has sanctioned a loan of Rs. 37 crore for 12 MW Baner and 10.50 MW Gaj hydel projects.<sup>18</sup>

The BJP government had also demanded the royalty of 240 crores on the hydel projects that were completed before 1990. BJP gives the argument that if coal and minerals can get royalty, then why couldn't Himachal Pradesh get royalty for water. Water is also a natural resource like coal and minerals.<sup>19</sup> The BJP government could not succeed in getting this demand approved from the central government.

"Industrial Development Policy" - Among the new industrial policy, one major decision of the BJP government in the state was to set up big cement plants in Solan, Sundernagar and Chamba. The government signed the memorandum of understanding with the private sector. The Union Ministry of environment underlined these industries as environmentally hazardous and the work on these projects had to be stopped.

Rs. 24 crore vegetable oil plant was set up in Mandi district. Many concessions were announced for the big industries who would start functioning before 1995, but the government did not get the time to put this into practise.

The government had planned to put up two apple processing units of 40 lakh ton capacity in Kullu and Theog, under the private sector. The reduction of subsidy on the apples preceeded the setting up of the apple procesing factories. The World Bank had put the condition of low subsidy, if the Himachal government wanted to avail the facility of loan for the apple processing unit.

Under the new industrial policy industrial units based on locally available raw material and natural resources would be encouraged. These would include agricultural produce, fruits, electronics, tourism, hydel power, handloom, handicrafts animal husbandry, fishery, medicines medicinal herbs, sericulture etc. A 25 crore tea development project was also launched. Tourism, is another industry which can be exploited, but the non availability of light and water in winter seasons puts the visitors to trouble. New tourist spots should be exploited. Himachal Pradesh has attracted all the tourists of Jammu and Kashmir, but the government could not exploit this situation. The state can develop adventure sports, hand gliding has already started in Palampur, which has attracted many adventure tourists.

The BJP government fulfilling its poll promise decided to scrap the state administrative tribunal. The BJP government recommended to the centre the demand of the government employees of scrapping the state administrative

tribunal. However, the centre did not oblige the Himachal Pradesh government because of some technical reasons.

"Support Price for Apples" - The highly organised orchardists also commanded strong politico-economic hold in the state. Since long the apple belt had been a traditional stronghold of the Congress party. The Congress had been giving a support price of Rs. 2.75 for the culled apples. The BJP government declared the policy of support prices as illogical and wrong. The apple growers were demanding a high support price of Rs. 3.50 per Kg. for their produce against Rs. 2.75. The BJP government on the other hand reduced the support price of called apples from Rs. 2.75 to Rs. 1.30 per Kg.<sup>20</sup> The government policy on the issue of support price was guided by the objections of the World Bank while processing the 75 crores horticultural development project for Himachal Pradesh.<sup>21</sup> The state government preferred to get the project rather than satisfying the apple growers. The various prices announced for the different types of apples by the government were ridiculously low. Thus the inaugural policy of Shanta Kumar government came as a bombshell to the apple growers of Shimla region and reinforced their fear of discrimination against the region by Kangra dominated government. Hence the attitude and the policies of BJP government created resentment among the people of Shimla region in general and the apple growers in particular.

As a result, the entire apple belt comprising the regions of Shimla, Mandi etc. went on the agitationist path. The Congress (I), CPI(M), Janta Dal, Bhartiya Kisan Union etc. also backed the agitation. The apple lobby helped to merge all the associations and organisations of fruit and vegetable growers into a well knit lobby called the Food and Vegetable growers Association (F.V.G.A) F.V.G.A. organised a massive rally in the capital town of Shimla on July 2, 1990.<sup>22</sup> The agitation turned violent when the growers tried to forcibly close the shops and other business establishments in response to the Shimla bandh on July 12, 1990.<sup>23</sup> On July 22, 1990 the agitation took serious turn when the police resorted to firing, to control the mob at Kotgarh in which 3 persons were killed. At Rampur Bushaher too the police had to fire in the air when a crowd threatened to set fire to the police station.<sup>24</sup>

Violence was also witnessed at Khara, Pathar, Jubbal etc. where liquor vendors were also looted by the people. The opposition parties demanded immediate judicial inquiry into the police firing. Some political groups such as Akali Dal (Mann) also announced relief to the families of each of the 3 persons killed in police firing. This agitation launched by the apple growers considerably damaged the image of the ruling party in the state. The BJP leaders did not tour the apple growing areas for a long time. This also agitated the

people and a feeling of neglect started arising in them.<sup>25</sup> The Congress and the CPI exploited this situation to the hilt in creating a vote bank against the BJP.

This hard decision by the BJP was appreciated by many sectors, as the earlier governments could not reduce the subsidy because of the politics of vote banks. The Congress had influence in the apple growing areas. In 1989 the apple growers had agitated for support price and were lathicharged by the then Congress government under Virbhadrha Singh. The Congress government had to bow down in front of the apple growers and announce a support price for culled apples. But the BJP government was adamant in their decision. BJP had to face loss in its vote bank. As Mr. Shanta Kumar, former Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh,<sup>26</sup> put it, support price for culled apples was an exploitation and the BJP government, not caring for votes, reduced it for the betterment of the apple growers only, as the party wanted to make the orchardists independent and not dependent on the government and secondly this was just a part of the long term policy which the government had for the people. It would set up fruit processing plant in that area with the help of the World Bank and for that it was necessary to reduce support price.

Hardly had the agitation by the apple producers ended when the mandal commission became a headache for the

government. The BJP government decided to fight against it in the Supreme Court.<sup>27</sup> By this decision the backward classes were against the BJP government. Somehow the Mandal issue did not acquire any alarming proportions in Himachal Pradesh as the factor of OBC in the state was not so important, barring some pockets of Kangra and Hamirpur. The state thus did not witness the spree of violence and self immolations. On the whole the backward classes had a feeling of insecurity under the BJP government. The works done by the government under Antodaya faded with the Mandal commission issue.

Another event that made the government unpopular, was the policy of "No Work No Pay" On 14 December 1990, decided that in future the principle of no work, no pay would apply in all kinds of strikes, absences etc. in government/semi government organisations, autonomous bodies, boards, corporations etc. in Himachal Pradesh.<sup>28</sup> A look at the history of employees agitations between 1989 to 1991, shows that the employees of the Pradesh resorted to 4 major strikes, i.e., N.G.O's from 7.2.89 to 18.3.89, Anti mandal from 48.90 to 15.9.90. Junior Engineer from 26.11.90 to 31.1.91 and H.P.S.E.B.<sup>21</sup> strike from 8.8.91 to 27.9.91. During these strikes as many as 10,26,000 mandays were lost resulting into loss of nearly 10 crors rupees to the state exchequer.<sup>30</sup>



In 1991, H.P.S.E.B. (Himachal Pradesh State Electricity Board) employees were on strike for 27 days. They gheraoed the Nathpa Jhakri power corporation authorities in Shimla. The government gave them police protection. The employees protested against this and gheraoed the Chairman of HPSEB and police had to be brought in and had to arrest their leaders to get the gherao lifted. On the arrest of these leaders, some groups of employees went on lightning strike and switched off electricity all over the state and sabotaged electricity supply systems. Breakdown of electricity resulted in disruption of water supply. NGO's also jumped into the fray to lend support to the striking HPSEB employees. Later on a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the striking employees and the government in which the no work, no pay policy, along with the point of Joint Action Committee of the HPSEB staff would be placed for consideration of the council of ministers and the decision would be acceptable to the Joint Action Committee.

In 1992 again the workers went on strike and the government put the no work no pay policy into force. To suppress this movement the government had to call paramilitary forces and nearly a dozen workers were dismissed - Shanta Kumar was successful in suppressing the movement but had to loose the votes of this large section of the population. In Himachal Pradesh out of the population of 50 lakhs, 1.5 lakh are government employees and 55% of the

budget goes in paying the employees.<sup>31</sup> The economic condition of the state is not very good. There was an overdraft of Rs. 48 crores which the Shanta Kumar government deposited the money just one day before the BJP government was dismissed.<sup>32</sup>

The income of the state is just 260 crores and the budget for 1992-93 was 1522 crores.<sup>33</sup> The rest of the money was taken from the centre and the banks as loans. The state is facing a financial crisis. And to top it off every year there are strikes by the employees which further increases the loss. According to Mr. C.L. Gupta, former BJP President for Teachers Cell of state, "The government employees went on strike in those months in which the crops were to be harvested or the apples were to be sold. These strikes were done so that the people would complete their personal work without losing their pay". The BJP government took a hard decision and a decision which is approved by many other sectors also, even the centre appreciated it. But the lathicharge on the striking employees and the suppression of the movement with a strong hand went against the government. This policy of no work, no pay was appreciated by many people.

During the previous two and half years of BJP rule, the party was not free from internal tensions and factions. To suppress some of the unsatisfied people, the Chief Minister

had to extend his cabinet twice. When the Ministry of Public Work and Transport was taken away from Jagdev Chand, a great dispute occurred in the party. 12 MLA's sided with him. They even started a signature campaign against the Chief Minister Shanta Kumar and met the high command of the party in Delhi, to show their discontent against the Chief Minister. The supporters of the Chief Minister also reached Delhi to express their full faith in his leadership. Instead of the pressure from MLAs and national high command, Shanta Kumar refused to give back the Ministry of Public work and transport, Mr. Maheshwar Singh, leader of the BJP went against the Chief Minister. Maheshwar Singh, accused Mr. Shanta Kumar of giving order to break the house of his brother Karan Singh, MLA of BJP from Kullu. Maheshwar Singh was also removed from the post of the head of the Kullu Dusherra Committee.

The Congress party, playing the role of the opposition party, did not play the role of an active opposition as it should have. The charges of corruption and wasteful expenditure were put on the BJP government. The BJP claimed to have cut in the expenses of the government like reducing the extravaganzas in the inauguration ceremonies, restriction on use of government vehicles etc. The Janjagaran programme of the BJP government in which daily dozens of inaugurations were done and foundation stones are being laid down was a

wasteful expenditure. The Congress accused them of spending all the money from the state exchequer for the Janjagaran programme cavalcades of cars were seen in villages.<sup>34</sup> In the name of Janjagaran towards government policies the party was increasing its publicity and base.

The "Van Lagao Rozi Kamao" policy was also under criticism. The Union Minister of state for Environment and Forests asked the Himachal Pradesh government not to go ahead with the programme without the approval of the Union ministry as it involved the Forest Conservation Act of 1980 which made it obligatory for any state government to seek the prior permission of the union government for any afforestation programme.<sup>35</sup>

The Chief Minister had been accusing the Virbhadhra Singh government for the deficit and the financial crisis in the state. Mr. Virbhadhra Singh commented that the BJP government had been a failure on all fronts and so it had turned towards accusing the earlier government and diverted the attention of the people from local problem to demanding the royalty of 12% from the centre. Mr. Virbhadhra Singh also accused the BJP government of selecting antodya families on the basis of political considerations. Moreover the BJP government in line with its policy of deregulation and private equity participation in public sector enterprises extended invitation to big businessmen from

outside to purchase land, set up hotels, cement factories and take over projects in the state.

These things stirred fear that Himachal might be made open to the exploitation and dominance of wealthy persons from outside. In 1991 the opposition groups including Congress I also protested against the failures of the government and mortgaging of the Himachal people's vital interests to the private sector. The government's policy regarding the no work, no pay, reducing support price for apple, anti mandal commission stance increase in medical charges, ban an recruiting new officers brought in criticism from the opposition parties.

In Himachal Pradesh a two party system has evolved. BJP and Congress (I) are the 2 parties in the panorama of politics in the state. BJP has appeared as an alternative to the Congress (I), in the state while in opposition, both the parties act meekly. The BJP government was dismissed by the central government both the time it was in power. On December 15, 1992 the BJP government was dismissed and elections were held in November 1993, nearly an year after the dismissal of the BJP run governments. The details of these elections are given in the next chapter.

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## CHAPTER - 6

### POLITICS OF THE BJP IN HIMACHAL PRADESH : ELECTIONS 1993

On December 15, 1992, after the demolition of the Babri Masjid on December 6, 1992, four state governments ruled by the BJP were dismissed and President's rule came into force in these states. Himachal Pradesh was also one of the four states. With the Congress hesitating to hold elections soon after the dismissal of the state governments and BJP demanding elections as soon as possible, the scenario looked as if the Congress feared that the public opinion would flow towards BJP because of the dismissal of the government without any solid reason behind it. In Himachal Pradesh not even a single incident of violence took place. It was even more peaceful than the Congress ruled Maharashtra.

In 1990 the people of Himachal had elected the BJP to run the government but soon after, the strong decisions of Shanta Kumar (the Chief Minister, of the BJP Government from 1990 to 1992) led to the decline in the popularity of the party. The reaction of the people to the policies of the BJP government, of reducing the subsidy on apples and the policy of no work no pay could be seen in the Lok Sabha elections of 1991 and the Municipal elections in 1992. Even the welfare policies started by the BJP government like Antodaya, went against the party because the fruits of the policies did not seep down to the lowest level. Policy was



good but the implementation was faulty. With the apple growers and the government employees supporting the Congress, BJP had to work hard to woo the voters. As I have already discussed that these two powerful lobbies i.e. the apple lobby and the employee lobby have a great effect on the politics of the state. These lobbies have played a decisive role in the elections. In Himachal Pradesh there are two parties which have been alternating power. They are the Congress and the BJP. Janata Dal had gained 11 seats in the Assembly in 1990 elections but that was because of the alliance with BJP. In Himachal Independents have an important role in the elections.

#### PRE POLL SCENARIO

Faction ridden Congress found it difficult to select candidates. BJP was an early bird in selecting candidates and even in starting the campaign. BJP and Janta Dal were fighting the elections independently as they could succeed in forming an alliance. The general public had a confused look on their faces. The apple belt was supporting the congress on the assurance that they would again raise the subsidy that was reduced by Shanta Kumar in 1991. The government employees decided to vote enbloc against the BJP. With only two major parties of importance in the state this meant a large chunk of votes going against the BJP. The Congress expected to get 30 to 35 seats and the BJP without

any alliance with Janata Dal expected to get 45 to 50 seats, which is more than that BJP had in 1990 when it had the support of the lower castes also because of the alliance with Janata Dal.

The BJP and the Congress were contesting all the 68 seats in the Assembly Janata Dal fielded 32 candidates, Bahujan Samaj Party fielded 49 candidate, Doordarshi Party 19, Communist Party of India 12, and Communist Party of India (Marxist) 6. There were 161 independents in the fray which included 15 Congress rebels also.<sup>1</sup> With so many rebels of Congress party in the contest, the BJP was happy that the votes of the Congress would be cut down and BJP expected to gain from this. In the assembly election of 1990 BJP had 46 seats and the Congress(I) had 9 seats. In the 1989 Lok Sabha election BJP had 45.25% of the votes and the Congress 41.96 percent. But, in the 1991 Lok Sabha elections we notice a decline in the support base of the BJP to the tune of 2.46 percent from 1989 to 1991 parliamentary polls. Whereas in the case of Congress(I) the percentage of votes had gone up from 41.86 percent in 1989 to 49.16 percent in 1991.<sup>2</sup>

This decline in the votes percentage in the Lok Sabha election of 1991 was a warning for the BJP to gear up it's election machinery and make the think tanks work faster if they wanted to gain in the Assembly elections of 1993. The Congress lost valuable time quarreling over distribution of

tickets and enabling BJP to get a headstart in the campaign. Factional fights and denial of tickets to potential winners led to revolts, among the party members and many of them stood independently against the official candidate of the congress. BJP's decision to renominate almost all party members of dissolved assembly did help the party to paper over dissensions within but in the process it fielded weak candidates in at least half a dozen seats. There was strong resentment among party cadres and voters against certain BJP old timers who had not cared to nurse the constituencies.

The pre poll scenario in Himachal saw the hesitant start by the Congress who went in for a negative vote criticising the BJP government's policies and programmes. The BJP on the other hand seeked a positive vote with the major slogan of the fight for the rights of the state. Janata Dal and Bhujan Samaj Party fought on the plank of development of the lower caste.

#### **ISSUES AT STAKE**

**National Issues** - As it is seen in all the elections, whether it be the Parliamentary elections or the assembly elections, national issues play an important role. In the recent assembly elections Ayodhya issue was the central theme of all the public meetings. The BJP promised to build the temple where the Ram Janam Bhoomi is located and the mosque to be built outside the parikrama (panch kosi parikrama). The Congress (I) showed their commitment to

construct both the temple and the mosque and the construction work would be done by a trust and not by any political party. Congress (I) criticised the BJP of supporting one particular religion and ignoring the feelings of the other religions. Congress (I) also blamed the BJP for the destruction of the mosque, which led to a countrywide turmoil. Congress (I) promised to prevent misuse of religion for political purposes. BJP accused the Congress of minorityism and asserted that BJP was a party of the majority and did not support and spoil a particular class of people. BJP's slogan for the nation was "Aaj Panch Pardesh, Kol Sara desh (Five states today, the whole country tomorrow)<sup>3</sup>. The Congress came up with the slogan of Development and Stability.

Another issue which proved to be a vote catcher in many states was the Mandal issue. Janta Dal took up the slogan of Mandal VS Kamandal. Janta Dal raised the voice against the suppression of the lower caste by the upper caste. The Congress (I) manifesto said that the Mandal Commission recommendations on backward classes as endorsed by the supreme Court had been implemented by the Congress through persuasion, discussion and negotiation instead of violence and agitation. BJP does not believe in reservation on the basis of caste but favours reservation on the basis of economic status i.e. the poor to be preferred for reservation irrespective of the caste they belong to.

Congress (I) promised to pay attention to the problems of the farmers like remunerative prices, subsidised agricultural input and better marketing facilities. The opposition parties were critical of the Dunkel proposals. Opposition parties in unison criticised the government (Congress I) of selling India in foreign hands. The signing of Dunkel proposals would increase the prices of agricultural products and the country would not be able to follow its own agricultural policy. BJP was out again with the lenient stand of the Congress government in dealing with Pakistan and the infiltration of Bangladeshis. They also accused the Congress of following a vote bank policy in letting the Bangladeshi infiltrators stay in India. BJP took up the question of the abrogation of article 370, unified code system and the deteriorating situation in Punjab and Kashmir.

The Hazratbal issue had become a favourite of the BJP. The slogan of "Biryani for militants and bullets for kar sevaks" caught up well with the people. In an interview taken by the author during the field trip to Una district before the elections of November 9, 1993, an old lady said that "the Congress government is giving biryanis to terrorists while the simple, poor man sleeps empty stomach. Do they want us to become terrorists in order to get some food. How do they expect us to vote for them".

The undemocratic dismissal of the four BJP run governments was also made a issue. BJP also accused the Congress of being partial as it did not dismiss the government of the much disturbed areas of Maharashtra and Gujarat only because they were ruled by Congress (I). The discrimination of the Central government against the BJP ruled state governments was also made a issue. Congress (I) promised economic reforms and simplifying sales tax laws and to make fresh efforts to solve the demand for abolition of sales tax. Building new schools, hospitals, colleges and creating new job opportunities were also in the party manifestoes. Economic Liberalisation was also a much discussed issue.

BJP promised security of the nation and its citizens, rooting out political and administrative corruption, reduction in prices, building temple at Ayodhya and a clear cut policy towards Pakistan.

### State Issues

Mr. Shanta Kumar, former Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh had described the assembly election of 1993 as a "Refrendum on Himachal Pradesh's Rights" to Rs. 240 crore annual royalty on power generated from its waters. BJP promised a self reliant Himachal Pradesh. The 34 point manifesto of the party spells out plans of the party on

exploitation of the state's vast natural resources, implementation and improvement of previous schemes, creation of job opportunities, Antodaya welfare of the working class including daily wage labourers. In a personal interview given to the author by Mr. Shanta Kumar (on 19.9.1993), he stressed on continuing the same policy stand on horticulture sector, as with empty coffers the state could not afford to give heavy subsidy for only one particular sector and neglect others. "We don't believe in support price as it makes the apple growers stand at the doors of the government. We want to make them dependent and with the money that would be saved from subsidies would be put to the use of setting up a fruit processing unit which will benefit the horticulturists". The dismissal of the BJP government was another issue exploited by the BJP. Though the dismissal of the Shanta Kumar government or corruption were no longer the burning issues which were once presumed to affect the electoral fortunes of the contesting parties.

BJP could hope to reap electoral gains had the elections been held soon after the dismissal of the government. But much of these gains were bound to have been materialised by the resentment created among the state government employees and the apple growers. The temple issue was picked up by state level leaders also. Mr. Shanta Kumar sought peoples verdict on building a grand temple of Self Reliant Himachal and a Ram temple at Ayodhya. However the saffron wave

generated by Mr. L.K. Advani failed to pick up as the state leaders continued to harp on local issues and performance of the Shanta Kumar Government. BJP had the added advantage of a well oiled election machinery, dedicated cadres and whole hearted support from its sister organisations. BJP this time was seeking a positive vote for the performance of the government.

The Congress (I) on the other hand was seeking a negative vote. "Vikas ya Vinash" (development or destruction) is the choice the Congress projected to the electorate the Congress focussed on the achievement at the centre and the BJP government's non performance in the state in the last 2 years. The Congress (I) found itself in an advantageous position to exploit some of the sections of the dismissed BJP government. The most important point is the resentment among the state government employees against the former government's decision to enforce no work no pay principle in dealing with their agitation. The resentment was not much on the principle than on the firm handling of the strike. The capacity of the employees to influence the voting behaviour of the society is tremendous as they constitute a major part of the total electorate. In Una district also I observed great resentment among the masses relating the no work no pay policy and the firm handling of the employees. In the state at least one member from every



family is a government servant. The Congress took advantage of the situation and promised to reappoint the persons who were suspended.

The apple lobby also nursed a groups against the BJP. The policy of the reduction of subsidies to apple growers on the ground that state's financial position did not permit it and that the subsidy was being pocketed by a handful of rich orchadists. The people got more agitated when the police lathicharged at the agitators. Congress promised to review the support price for apples and other fruits.

Development and stability were other issue on which the Congress (I) hoped to gain support. The Congress gave the example of the rule of opposition party in the state twice and both the time it could not rule for more than 2 years. Without stability development is not possible and if the people wanted stability they would have to vote for Congress (I) as it is the only party which could give stability. Congress party also promised to review the memorandums of understanding signed during the BJP regime to set up cement factory and the involvement of the private sector in hydel generation would be reviewed. The party also promised to reduce the medical charges which had been increased by the BJP government to mobilise resources.

The Congress party also took up positive issues like the performance of the Congress Government and even the central

government and the threat posed by communal and divisive forces. According to Vir Bhadhra Singh, former Congress (I) Chief Minister of the state, the Union government made the highest plan allocation for Himachal during the BJP regime but the state government always used the huge deficit as a play to cover up its failure.<sup>4</sup>

The big brotherly treatment given by Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh was also taken up as an issue of overinterference of the neighbouring state in the internal matters of the state. Responding to accusations and counter accusations a respondent in Una said. "Both parties accuse each other. What difference does it make? They are all the same when in power". While travelling in a bus I heard a conversation between a group of villagers (I was a non participant observer) "Nobody is going to give us bread neither BJP nor Congress (I). It is we who have to earn the bread. No party fulfills its promises as promises are made to be broken. They are selling Ram to earn their bread". In response to a question asked by the author, a farmer in Una district replied that he would vote for Congress, the reason being that Congress was in the centre and if Congress came to the state also it would be easier for the state government to extract money from the centre. A Congress sympathiser. Mr. Parashar, a lecturer, said that the BJP had uneducated men who could not understand their problems

correctly and could not relay their problems to the ministry. Secondly the BJP men had become rude after coming to power and were never available.

In Himachal the November 9, 1993 assembly elections turned out to be a two party affair as efforts of some non BJP and non Congress parties to forge a battle for power failed. In 1990 Janta Dal had an alliance with BJP and had performed well by winning 11 out of the 17 seats it contested. The Bahujan Samaj Party tried to woo the lower caste people by accusing other parties of representing the higher castes. The Bahujan Samaj Party, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist) and Janata Dal have influence in certain pockets only. Basically the individual popularity of the leaders matter more than the parties own base.

#### CAMPAIGN

The parties used both traditional as well as the modern modes of publicity. The parties used audio and video channels to woo the voters. Satellite Television was also used. The focus of BSP campaigning was to convince the people that the BJP government which was elected for five years in 1990 was dismissed within 33 months. As Vice President of BJP, Mr. Madhukar puts it. "It was the rape of democracy and the democratic history of the country had no such example. We want justice from people's court."<sup>5</sup>

The BJP videocassette shows the achievements of the BJP government in Himachal Pradesh and new election promises and the response of the people to yatras including janadesh yatra. The star campaigner was Shanta Kumar, though his charishma had faded out by that time. L.K. Advani, Vajpayee, Sadhvi Rithambhra, Uma Bharti were other vote catchers. The Congress not lagging behind had Beant Singh, Prime Minister, Mr. Narsimha Rao, Rajesh Khanna etc. The video cassettes of Congress(I) showed misrule of BJP government Mr. Narsimha Rao appears at the end of each film with the message of communal harmony, stability and the need for economic reforms.

Both the parties also tried to woo women candidates as women constituted 50 percent of the electorate in the state. Out of a total electorate of 32,59,104. Women numbered 16,18,781 and men 16, 348,109. The Congress had 4 women, the BJP had 2, the Janata Dal had 3 and the Bahujan Samaj Party and the Doordarshi Party had one each and there were 4 independent women in the contest.<sup>6</sup>

BJP had slogans like "Jo kaha kar deekhaya" (what we said, we did it) regarding the destruction of the Babri Masjid. "Development and self reliance" and a comparison of the 40 years rule of the Congress and 33 month rule of the BJP was done by the BJP. The Congress too tried banking on Narsimha Rao's promise talk less, work more. Slogans like

"Congress is the last hope, rest is despair" and "Worshippers of chair sell religion". Songs depicting unity of the nation were also used by Congress one of them was "Hum ek rahein hain, itihās desh ka badalne nahin denge" (we are one and won't let anyone change the country's history). Both BJP and Congress bombarded the state with a boom of film song parodies and slogans carrying posters and banners highlighting their achievements and the opponents' misdeeds.

Unlike the BJP and the Congress, the Janata Dal had been hit by resource crunch. The party had to abandon the idea of video cassettes. It's catchiest slogan was a reply to BJP's "Jo Kaha so kiya" (we did what we said). The reply was "What BJP said it did - result communal riots, orphans and widows". The Janata Dal emphasised on "right to justice, right dignity right to share in governance." The Communist Party of India with its limited influence in the state was not behind other parties. In Shimla, the Communist party candidate had a good lead over other. The Communist party had led the horticulturists movement to raise subsidy.

#### POLL VERDICT

On November 9, 1993 nearly 3,072,926 voters went on to elect 68 members of the Himachal Pradesh Assembly. The result of the elections was as follows.

**TABLE 10**

**Electoral Performance of Parties in 1993**  
**Assembly Elections in Himachal Pradesh**

Party	Total No. of seats gained
Congress (I)	52
BJP	8
CPI (M)	1
Independent	7
Total	68

Source : Frontline, January 28, 1994, p. 107.

**TABLE 11**

**The Percentage of Votes Gained by Congress(I) and BJP**

	Congress I	BJP
1990	37.6%	42.9%
1993	49.2%	35.6%

Source : Frontline, January 28, 1994, p.107.

The results of elections and even the preceeding political situation very much proved that "the election in India was a very effective instrument in the hands of the people who found it to be useful to throw out not merely the existing ruling group and ruling party but even a whole set of political arrangements which did not confirm to the system that they had originally accepted."<sup>7</sup> In Himachal Pradesh the Congress had succeeded in capitalizing on Shanta Kumar's fading charisma.<sup>7</sup> Added to this was the role played

by apple growers and the government employees, which played a decisive factor in the debacle of BJP. The table below is a comparative study of electoral trends in Himachal Pradesh since 1952 Congress (I) has been in power, except in 1977 and 1990 elections it lost power to the opposition party. In 1977 for the first time a non Congress (I) government came to power in the state headed by Mr. Shanta Kumar of Bhartiya Jana Sangh which was the main constituent of the 5 party group known as Janata Party. The main reason of the debacle of

**TABLE 12**  
**Comparative Electoral Trends in Himachal Pradesh**  
**Assembly and Territorial Council**

Sl.No.	Party	1952	1957	1962	1967	1972	1977	1982	1985	1990	1993
1.	Congress (I)	24	22	34	34	53	9	31	58	9	52
2.	Congress (O)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	C.P.I.	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
4.	C.P.M.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
5.	KMPP*	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	SSP**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	PSP***	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	Swatantra Party	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
9.	BJS/BJP	-	-	-	7	5	-	28	7	46	8
10.	S.C.Federation	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11.	Republicans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12.	Lok Raj Party	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-
13.	Janata Party	-	-	-	-	-	53	2	-	-	-
14.	Janata Dal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
15.	Independent	9	16	3	16	7	6	6	2	1	7
16.	Total	36	41	41	60	68	68	68	68	68	68

Source : Electoral Trends in Himachal Pradesh 1952-1989.  
Chief Electoral Office, Himachal Pradesh.

- \* KMPP - Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party
- \*\* SSP - Samyukta Socialist Party
- \*\*\* PSP - Praja Socialist Party

Congress (I) being the emergency and the anti Congress wave. In 1990 also there was an anti Congress feeling. In the centre also there was a non Congress government which also had its impact on the people. The BJP in alliance with Janta Dal could secure 42.9% of the votes in the state assembly. But in 1993 there was the absence of any kind of wave. The pre poll scenario showed a confused lot of voters with everyone predicting a decline in the number of seats of the BJP and an increase in Congress (I) and Janata Dal seats. No one expected the party which was so reluctant to go to the polls to bag 52 out of 68 seats in the state with nearly 50% of the votes.

One of the significant trend is the consolidation of the two party system. All parties other than Congress and the BJP have been marginalised.<sup>8</sup> Let alone win a seat the Janata Dal has not even been able to save its deposits anywhere except in Nahan. The vote share has fallen to just one percent, a drop of 9.1 percent since the 1990 elections and an average drop of as much as 39.1 percent in those seats it contested both in 1990 and 1993. The CPI lost its seat in the dissolved assembly while the CPI(M) won a seat after a gap of 2 decades. Their vote share of 1.0 and 0.8 percent respectively does not promise very much. With 2.2 percent votes BSP is just a cut above the Communist Parties. But it does not show any significant trend in the absence of any



clear pattern of higher BSP vote in reserved constituencies or constituencies with high scheduled caste population.<sup>10</sup>

The outcome can be seen as a wave against BJP, the Congress (I) being the incidental beneficiary. The electorate has decisively rejected the Shanta Kumar regime which it perceived as being unjust and obstinate. It is a rejection of the government which opened fire at the people for the first time in the history of this state, which ordered large scale retrenchment, asked people to pay fees in government hospitals and let loose a regime of terror against a massive government employee' strike". Barring his arch rival Jagdev Chand, the entire cabinet of Shanta Kumar has been defeated. Six out of eight successful BJP candidate are new comers to the Assembly. Shanta Kumar takes full responsibility of the BJP's debacle in the state.

The discord within the Congress came as a blessing in disguise for the party as it meant that they did not name a Chief Minister. Had a leader from the old areas been named the merged area would have been alienated.<sup>12</sup> Mr. O.P. Sabhrawal in an article in Times of India.<sup>13</sup> has explained the verdict in favour of the Congress as "The impulse from Punjab - that peace keeping in this state influenced people's lives and livelihood is Himachal more than the left over impact of Ram wave". I do agree with Mr. Sabrahwol that there was the absence of Ram wave and that Ram and Hindutva

was not the issue in Himachal. But I do not agree with the view that it was an impulse from Punjab. The big brotherly treatment given by Mr. Beant Singh evoked fear in the minds of the people of overinterference in the minds of the people of over interference in the internal matters of Himachal Pradesh by Punjab.

In Himachal Pradesh assembly there are, 19 reserved constituencies, 15 for Scheduled Castes and 4 for Scheduled Tribes. In 1990 delection, 13 of the reserved (scheduled caste) seats went to the BJP. Even in 1991, the BJP held on to 11 of these Assembly segments. But this time Congress bagged 11 of these while the BJP could win only 2. The Scheduled Tribe constituencies have shown a more consistent preference for the Congress. This time the BJP failed to win any, while the congress and are of its rebels secured 3 and 1 respectively.<sup>14</sup>

After 1977, BJP had made sizeable inroads among the backward classes. But when it openly aligned itself with the anti-Mandal agitators and went to the extent of challenging the Mandal report in the Supreme Court, BJP's influence rapidly declined and the OBC's became sympathetic to the Janata Dal. As this party faced virtual disintegration in Himachal Pradesh, the OBC's started looking to the Congress.<sup>15</sup>

The outcome was more a windfall for the Congress (I) which had done little by way of significant political initiatives in the last 3 years to deserve such a victory. If anything, the notorious factionalism in the party was at its worst during this election.<sup>16</sup> Arguably the Congress may have benefited from a negative vote, being the only party of consequence in the state to which those disillusioned with the BJP could turn to. By the same token BJP too can expect to gain from a rebound on the next occasion. Since 1977 Himachal Pradesh has viewed alternating parties come to power. In 1977 it was the Janata Party in 1982 elections BJP and Congress (I) were neck to neck with 29 and 31 seats respectively.<sup>17</sup> Though the Congress I succeeded in forming the government by wooing 4 independent legislators to its side. BJP gave a tough opposition to the Congress (I). In 1985 again the Congress came to power with 2/3 majority and a total rout for BJP. In 1990 it was the reverse, the Congress had to face defeat and the BJP formed the government. Again in 1993 Congress succeeded in forming the government.

BJP is down, but not yet out. Despite its rout it has managed to retain a respectable vote share in the state. Not only in Himachal but in all the 5 states in which the elections were held, BJP has been able to gain a respectable vote share. Though it lost 3 out of the 4 governments. The total number of seats bagged by BJP is more than that of

Congress. Table 13 shows the number of seats gained by parties in the 5 states.

**TABLE 13**

**Assembly Elections, 1993: an over view**

	Seats Won										Votes Secured (%)								Turn out %	
	Seats	INC	BJP	JD	SP	BSP	CPI	CPI(M)	Oth.	Ind.	INC	BJP	JD	SP	BSP	CPI	CPI(M)	Oth.		Ind.
Total	1078	344	445	41	109	78	5	4	7	44	27.3	35.9	8.3	8.9	7.2	0.5	0.4	2.1	3.4	61.8
Himachal Pradesh	68	52	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	49.2	35.6	1.0	0.0	2.2	1.0	0.7	2.2	0.0	70.4
Madhya Pradesh	319	174	116	4	0	11	2	1	3	8	40.8	38.7	3.9	0.6	6.8	0.9	0.2	1.5	3.8	62.1
Rajasthan	199	76	95	6	0	0	0	1	0	21	38.1	38.7	6.6	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.9	0.5	9.8	61.0
Uttar Pradesh	422	28	177	27	109	67	3	1	1	8	14.8	33.4	11.5	17.9	10.8	0.5	0.2	3.0	1.2	61.6
Delhi	70	14	49	4	0	0	0	0	3	0	34.7	43.5	12.8	0.5	1.8	0.2	0.3	3.0	0.3	62.0

Source :Harsh Sethi - "The voter's message", Frontline, January 28, 1994,

The table above shows that the number of seats that BJP had gained in 1993 assembly elections is much more than the Congress(I). Congress(I) secured 344 seats with 27.3% of the votes and BJP ahead with 445 seats with 35.9% votes. The BJP could not form government in 4 states, earlier ruled by it. It could just manage to form the government in Rajasthan. But the overall performance of BJP was better than the Congress (I). The Janata Dal was a looser in all the states. The BJP notwithstanding an expansion of its base both horizontally and vertically had clearly suffered a set back and if it has to remain in the fray of active politics it will have to play moderate, middle of the road politics

while highlighting its cohesiveness, discipline and integrity. The mohants and sadhvis should take Sanyas from politics.

Whatever may have been the reason for the sweep of the Congress (I) in Himachal the most important questions are yet to come. Among the various other problems the major problem that the Congress (I) government will face is an empty treasury. The financial position of the state is so grim that it would be difficult for the government to meet the salary bills of its employees. The newly formed Congress government under Virbhadhra Singh announced to take back all the government employees whose services were terminated by the earlier agitation under Shanta Kumar.<sup>18</sup> If this gesture emboldens the government employees unions the government will have a very hard task before it. The apple growers will ask for higher support price and this again would be contradictory to the central government's policy of liberalisation. The Congress government also reduced the hike in electricity tarrifs and medical bills. The lobbies held the government to ransom.

The Congress ought to find alternative other than borrowing from the centre and the Reserve Bank, to make the state self dependent. New sources of income can be generated. Hydel power, tourism, cement and cottage industries can be exploited to gain revenue. For the

Congress it will be difficult to keep all the sections happy. For the time being it remains that what kind of position does BJP prove to be, after being drubbed in the next elections.

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## CHAPTER - 7

### CONCLUSION

The outcome of recent elections in the Hindi heartland of India is from the political point of view, of considerable significance. It has clearly indicated that the rapid advance of majority chavinism, which has expressed itself in the augmented size and increased consolidation of the BJP vote bank in 1991, has been halted, at least for the time being, in this politically important and culturally sensitive region of the country. The BJP think tank had hoped that the results of these elections would, place it still higher up along the rising curve of the electoral successes of the party.

It is important to remember here that the defeat of BJP is more symbolic and national than substantive.<sup>1</sup> It is a significant symbolic defeat because three of its existing governments failed to come back to the power. Yet the BJP has won more seats in this election than any other party. BJP is not a party which could be taken lightly. The secularist parties take it lightly and BJP has gained strength because of the weaknesses of the secular parties in India. Communalism is an ideology and secular parties should never make any overt and covert compromise with communal parties and forces. Otherwise, struggle for secularism would be reduced to a tactical approach in politics.<sup>2</sup>



Observers of the Indian political scene have been puzzled by the performance and prospects of the BJP. It is the largest opposition party in the Lok Sabha. The rise of BJP constitutes a challenge not only to the Congress but to the Nehruvian model of state and its secular democratic inheritance. It's leaders coach their appeal in relation to religious sentiments of the Hindu majority of India.

Ram Janam Bhoomi controversy religiously speaking was not even an issue. But it great potential to become the most explosive political issue. The Hindu elite had started feeling insecure, with no party to support them. The Congress was supporting the Muslims and other minorities. The Hindu elite which had been so secure in the first few decades after independence was beginning to feel threatened. The grand Nehruvian secular socialist dream was beginning to crack, new aspirants from hitherto subjugated regional and ethnic groups were coming to the fore, and the Hindu upper classes could not remain quite reassured to their natural supermacy. BJP was a party, in which they saw their future secure as it was a party of the upper class Hindus and was fighting for the cause of Hindutva and Ram Rajya.

The preceding chapters lead us to conclude about the phenomenon of BJP in Himachal Pradesh. BJP, as we all know is a communal party, and its communal policies appeal mostly to the Hindus in the Muslim dominated areas. BJP has

increased its vote bank of riding the communal wave. But in Himachal Pradesh, Ayodhya issue does not have much influence and neither did the state witness any violence in the wake of the destruction of the Babri Masjid.

The question that arises in the mind now is, why did the BJP come to power in Himachal Pradesh?

One answer to this question is the nature of party system in the state. In Himachal, bi-party system has evolved, so whenever one party declines, the other is the obvious winner. This is what has happened in the state. Whenever Congress declined, BJP has risen to power. As there is no regional political party in the state, nor a strong National Party, other than the Congress(I) and the BJP, so both these parties have been alternating in power. Both the parties have, till now, not proved to be good opposition parties i.e. many a times the BJP and the Congress(I) cooperated with each other making the rule of the other party easier.

The absence of regional political party in the state could be explained by the logic that both the Congress(I) and the BJP fulfil the local aspirations of the people. The regional feelings of the old areas and new areas exist among the people and this regional feeling has mattered a lot in the election.

There was conducive environment for a regional political party to take roots, but the Congress (I) and the BJP fulfil the role of the regional political party in the state. The Congress(I) represents the old areas and the BJP represents the merged areas. The Congress(I) has pampered the horticulturalists and the BJP, the agriculturalists. Both the parties have contributed in increasing the feeling of difference in these areas, to keep their vote bank intact. Regarding the base of the Hindu nationalist parties Bruce Graham writes - "Being a political extension of the Brahmanic tradition in Hindu religious thought, Hindu nationalism drew support mainly from upper caste Hindus, families with its background and assured of its implicit acceptance of their status and their privileges".<sup>3</sup> The BJP in Himachal Pradesh has a solid base. It is not just a brahmin party, but also has the support of other classes and castes.

Another reason for BJP coming to power is the pressure groups politics. Politics is essentially a pressure group politics, as Arthur Bently put it. In Himachal Pradesh politics lobbies have an important role to play. They have become the king makers. This trend can be noted in the past two assembly elections. The three main lobbies i.e. the apple producers lobby, employees lobby and the forest lobby, were the main cause in defeating the Virbhadhra Singh

government in 1990 assembly elections when they were unsatisfied with Shanta Kumar (BJP) government, they removed the Shanta Kumar government. The lobbies are successful in getting their demands fulfilled, if the ruling party does not fulfil it, the ruling party is in danger and the opposition party is ready to favour them in order to come to power in the next elections. This was seen in the Assembly elections of 1993, also, with the help of these three lobbies, any party is sure to win, as they constitute a large chunk of the population.

BJP gained importance also because of the clean image which it had projected, while in power in 1977. The clean image of its workers and the welfare schemes of the BJP gained a lot of votes for the party. The party had selfless workers disciplined cadres and honest workers.

One of the trends which has been noticed in the state politics since 1977, is that, the party wins a landslide victory to come to power. In 1977 Janata Party won the elections with a landslide victory. 1982 elections were an exception in this case, as both the parties were neck to neck. In 1985 the Congress won hands down, in 1990 BJP won with a large majority and again in 1993 Congress(I) won a landslide victory. The ruling party had, had an absolute majority, rendering the opposition parties ineffective. The opposition of the opposition party remains symbolic. In

democracy, the opposition party has an important role to play.

Another trend on the rise in the role of caste in the politics. Casteism is on the rise. Both the BJP and the Congress(I) have had leaders from the upper caste i.e. Brahmins and Rajputs. Within the parties also there is a tussle for leadership, between these two castes. Often the member of a particular caste favours the member of his own caste even if the other one is from the other side of the road. The lower castes do not have active leadership. Till recently they sought refuge under the Congress umbrella. They found the Congress(I) as the party which kept their interest in the minds. But they seemed disillusioned from Congress(I). Janata Dal was their next option. But factions and internal disturbance in Janata Dal diverted their support, again to the Congress(I). BJP never had a strong support base among the lower castes. But the little support that it gained from the lower caste in 1990 shrunk away, when BJP took up an anti Mandal stance, which made them feel insecure.

BJP, in Himachal Pradesh, is more than a communal party. The reason being that the state is dominated by Hindus who constitute 95% of the population. Only 5% of the population of the state belongs to the minorities, so the communal colours of the party are not seen. As we have already discussed that

the party's communal policies appeal generally, to the Hindus of the Muslim dominated areas.

The question now arises is that they did the BJP not fair well in Himachal Pradesh? In Uttar Pradesh the Hindutva wave was strong, so an anti Hindutva wave swept on the politics. In Uttar Pradesh rout of BJP can be understood. But in Himachal Pradesh there was no such anti-Hindutva wave, as there was no Hindutva wave which could be countered. Then why could not the BJP win or gain more seats in the state Assembly election in 1993?

The BJP's failure to win the elections can be explained by the large scale dissatisfaction of the people with the policies of the previous BJP government. The policy of reducing the support price of culled apples, the no work no pay policy and even the welfare policy of antodaya went against the party. The policy of antodaya which had been appreciated in 1977 was not a success in 1990. The reason being that the benefits of the policy could not reach the lowest level of the society. The benefits were soaked away by the bueraucracy in the middle. The harsh decisions of the BJP government and the rude behaviour of its members did not do good to the party. Corruption and factionalism have become a feature of BJP also. BJP had come to power with the image of a clean party. But now it was faction ridden and had corrupt members to top it all. BJP had become like

Congress (I), faction ridden with corrupt leaders. BJP, in power, did not prove any better than the Congress (I).

Another reason for the downfall of BJP is its restricted base. It has increased its electoral base but not the social base, but not to the extent of Congress(I). BJP's base swelled up temporarily in 1990 because of the anti-Congress feeling in the lobbies, which made the lobbies support the BJP as a result of which all the castes voted for it. But the temporary base again shrank back with the hard decision of the party and the lobbies going against the BJP. In Himachal Pradesh BJP is a party of the agricultural zone, but it could increase its support among the other zone also. The Congress(I) has a great plus point over the BJP and that is the wide base which BJP lacks.

BJP could alter its anti Muslim propaganda. Though the Muslims are only 1.5% of the total population yet the anti Muslim and anti minority stance could create a feeling of insecurity among other classes also. BJP when in opposition could play an active role in the politics of the state. In 1985 it played the role of a silent listener which made the press to call this period as a Honeymoon period. The Congress also did little by way of a significant political initiatives in the last 3 years (1990-93) when in opposition to deserve such a victory in the 1993 elections.

BJP, to divert the attention from the real nature of Indian crisis, has used communalism and anti-minorityism as a tool. But even if it were to win in Ayodhya, the problems facing the country would not be solved. BJP is in a muddle over economic policy. There are not only extremists and moderates but economic nationalists alongside free market enthusiasts and the BJP has to contend ideologically within its own saffron brotherhood. The party is uncertain about where it stands. The party cannot always substitute Ram for Roti. BJP cannot stand still. It needs to move forward or risk being forced back in this dynamic world of politics.

BJP must rearticulate Indian nationalism in terms of Hindutva.<sup>4</sup> It is unlikely that the an extremists communal political position will help BJP do that. It must either moderate its stance or shift the society's commonsense so that its stance appears balanced.<sup>5</sup> The so called Hindu vote is not a monolith and many factors influence the voter and BJP's claim to represent Hindustva is not enough to counter the contradictions of the Hindus. The so called Hindu votes looks towards other centrist parties like the Congress and Janta Dal for social and national problems.<sup>6</sup>

BJP has to articulate the democratic aspirations of the disadvantaged sectors of the society, the poor, dalits tribals, backward castes and villagers. But this is only



possible when BJP changes its ideology. After the Assembly elections of 1993 BJP has started thinking on social concerns of the society.

"The thunderous entry of the RSS inspired BJP, accompanied by the beating of drums in Rath Yatras, from the side wings to the main stage of the national scene, the shift of its socio political emphasis from Bharatiyata to Hindutva, the marginalisation of the relatively soft spoken Atal Behari Vajpayee in the affairs of the party, the overshadowing dominance in the current phase of the outspoken, anti-Muslim militants in policy making as well as in fashioning its tactical line - combined with the blatant anti muslim demagogy of some of its male and female leaders bordering on cheap vulgarity - all these put together pose serious dangers to national unity and call for a strong response from the Indian Hindus people as a whole of all religious groups with diverse affiliations."<sup>7</sup>

BJP claims to be a party for whom nation comes first but it, itself is posing a serious threat to the integrity of the country. BJP will have to alter its course. Even the secular parties will have to prepare a socio-economic agenda to counter the wave of communal politics. It is because of the weakness of the secular parties that has given rise to the communal parties. Secularism, is misinterpreted today, both by the Congress and the BJP. One is supporting the

minorities the other is supporting the majorities in the name of secularism. Secularism should be strengthened not only politically, by fighting communalism but should also be strengthened socially by advocating progressive social change in every religious community.

Secularism in the Indian context, imply to, respect for pluralism and non coercive, voluntary recourse to change. Respect to diversity not only embodies the democratic spirit, it is also the real guarantee for the unity of our people. Democracy and secularism are necessary as well as a sufficient condition for the unity and integrity of the country.

Today BJP is the most talked of and the most criticised party in the country. It is a party which should not be ignored. It's communal tactics have to be countered. And for the BJP, to gain the confidence of the people, it ought to change its ideology. The self styled vanguards of Hinduism BJP-RSS-VHP should think seriously in terms of the unity of the country while maintaining the pluralist nature of the society. Politics of Himachal Pradesh is a very less researched area. There are a few dissertation and thesis on the politics of this state but published books on this topic are very rare. 1977 was the turning point in the politics of Himachal Pradesh. Since then the state has witnessed a two party system, ending the one party dominant system. The

people of the state are no more politically backward, they understand the politics of the parties and if unsatisfied use the political weapon of ballot to remove the government and replace it by another. The history of the past 16 years i.e. 1977-1993 has shown this. In Himachal Pradesh, Politics is becoming more and more competitive. Both the parties i.e. BJP and Congress (I) are on the lookout to criticise any wrong step taken by the opposite party.

The internal structure of BJP state level is the same as the national level. The leadership decides on all important issues. In Himachal also, the backbone of the BJP is the RSS, without which the party would not even exist. BJP is seen as the only opposition party which can challenge the Congress (I) as it has both man and money to do so. BJP will have to change according to the times. The Mandir issue is no more dominant, what the party needs is a good socio-economic policy and solution to the socio-economic problems of the people otherwise the masses would seek another political party upto their expectation. These are the days of democracy and no party can avoid the people. With so many parties in the fray, BJP will have to soon gear up its machinery to keep it's influence in politics.

BJP should leave the policy of "The king is Dead Long live the King", Today is more important. Of course one cannot forget the past and should not forget the past as in

the past only our today is standing but this does not mean that we have to live in past. BJP has to learn to live in the present.

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APPENDIX - I

HIMACHAL PRADESH  
FIGURES AT A GLANCE

		HIMACHAL PRADESH	INDIA
1. Population	Persons	5,111,079	844,324,222
	Males	2,560,894	437,805,805
	Females	2,550,185	406,518,417
	Rural	4,666,255	677,146,597
	Urban	444,824	217,177,625
2. Decennial Population Growth rate 1981-91	Total	+19.39	+23.56
	Rural	+17.99	+19.71
	Urban	+36.46	+36.19
3. Density of Population		92 person per sq.km.	267 persons per sq.km
4. Sex Ratio (No. of females per 1000 males)		996	929
5. Literacy (absolute)	Rural	2,396,730	228,009,191
	Urban	327,879	134,155,169
6. Literacy Rate	Person	63.54	52.11
	Males	74.57	63.86
	Females	53.46	39.42
7. No. of villages		19387	600,000
8. No. of towns	1971	36	3,126
	1981	47	4,029
	1991	58	4,689
9. Percentage of Main workers to population		33.83	34.12
10. Marginal workers		8.44	3.52
11. Non Workers		57.73	62.36
12. Area in kms		55,673	3,287,263*

\* Includes 78,114 sq. kms under illegal occupation of Pakistan and 5180 sq.km. illegally handed over by Pakistan to China and 37,55 sq.kms under illegal occupation of China in Ladhak district.

Source : Census of India, 1991, p.(xi)

APPENDIX - II

National Executive of BJP 1993-95  
(As constituted on 26th June 1993 and  
amended on 7th January 1994)

President

1. Shri L.K. Advani, M.P.

Vice Presidents

1. Shri Sunder Sigh Bhandari, M.P.
2. Shri Kalyan Singh
3. Shri K.R. Malkani
4. Shri Jayawanti Ben Mehta
5. Shri Suraj Bhan
6. Shri O. Rajagopal, M.P.
7. Shri Karia Munda, M.P.

General Secretaries

1. Shri Kushabhau Thakre
2. Shri Krishan Lal Sharma
3. Shri K.N. Govindacharya
4. Shri Pramod Mahajan, M.P.
5. Shri M. Venkiah Naidu

Secretaries

1. Shri Shanta Kumar
2. Shri Arif Beg
3. Shri Bangaru Laxman
4. Shri B.S. Yediyurappa, M.L.A.
5. Shri Sushma Swaraj, M.P.

Treasurer

1. Shri Ved Prakash Goyal

Source : BJP Publication, New Delhi.

## APPENDIX - III

### Functional Work Allocation of BJP Central Office

1. Party Organisation	Shri K.S. Thakre
2. Party Organisation (for South)	Shri K.N. Govindaacharya
3. Central Headquarters	Shri Krishenlal Sharma
4. Election Planning	Shri Pramod Mahajan
5. Organisation of think tanks and Publications	Shri K.R. Malkani
6. State Legislatures	Shri J.P. Mathur
7. Spokes persons	Shri K.L. Sharma Shri Sushma Swaraj
8. Fund Collection and Audit	Shri V.P. Goyal Shri Ashwini Kumar
9. Central Office	Shri Dev Das Apte

### Morchas

1. Yuva	Uma Bharti
2. Mahila	Smt. Jayawanti N. Mehta
3. S.C.	Sri Bangaru Laxman
4. S.T.	Shri Karia Munda
5. Kisan	Shri Kailash Joshi
6. Minorities	Shri Arif Baig

Source : BJP Publication, New Delhi.



APPENDIX - IV

Work Allocation Area Wise (as on July 8, 1993)

1. Jammu and Kashmir	Shri Kidar nath Sahani
2. Himachal Pradesh	Smt. Sushma Swaraj
3. Punjab, Chandigarh & Delhi	Shri M.L. Khurana
4. Haryana	Shri Suraj Bhan
5. Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh & Rajasthan	Shri Sunder Sigh Bhandari
6. Gujarat, Goa & Maharashtra	Shri Pramod Mahajan
7. Bihar & Orissa	Shri Kailashpati Mishra
8. West Bengal, Assam Tripura & Andamans	Shri Vishnukant Shastri
9. Sikkim, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland Manipur & Arunachal	Shri Bansi Lal Sonee
10. Kerala & Karnataka	Shri O. Rajagopal
11. Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu & Pondicherry	Shri M.Venkaiah Moidu

Source : BJP Publication, New Delhi.

APPENDIX - V

State Executive (Himachal Pradesh)

President

1. Shri Prem Kumar Dhumal, M.P.

Vice Presidents

1. Shri Bhagat Ram Chauhan
2. Shri Roop Singh Thakur
3. Shri Madhukar
4. Shri Mohinder Nath Sopot

General Secretary

1. Shri Surendar Chandel
2. Shri Ram Chandra Bhatia

Treasurer

1. Shri Ram Das Thakur

Secretaries

1. Smt. Shubh Mahajan
2. Shri Mohan Lal
3. Shri Harbans Singh Rana
4. Shri Virendar Kashyap
5. Shri Kashmiri Lal

Office Secretary

1. Shri Mangat Dhani

Members

1. Shri Mangat Dhani

Members

1. Shri Shanta Kumar, ex Chief Minister
2. Shri Jagdev Chand Thakur
3. Shri Nagin Chandra Pal
4. Shri Maheshwar Singh
5. Thakur Ganga Singh
6. Shri Kishori Lal
7. Shri Radharaman Shastri ex. Minister
8. Shri Kunj Lal Thakur
9. Shri Balak Ram, ex M.P.
10. Shri Ishwar Das Dhiman
11. Smt. Pratibha Kaushik
12. Rani Damyanti Devi
13. Smt. Madhushyam

14. Smt. Veena
15. Shri Phateh Singh
16. Shri Yanga Ram Teja
17. Shri Yonga Ram Chandel
18. Shri Chet Ram Negi
19. Shri Vidhya Sagar
20. Gyani Kesar Singh
21. Shri Suresh Bhardwaj ex. MLA
22. Sardar Avnendar Singh
23. Shri Shyam Lal Pirta
24. Shri Ved Prakash Mittal.
25. Shri Dhani Ram ex MLA
26. Shri Chandra Sen Thakur.
27. Shri Deep Kumar
28. Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma
29. Shri Des Raj ex. Minister
30. Shri Jogindar Singh
31. Shri Pitendar Nath Bhanot
32. Shri Deena Nath Shashtri
33. Shri Kashmir Singh Rajput
34. Shri Shiv Kumar ex. MLA
35. Dr. Lashkari Ram ex MLA
36. Shri Godharav
37. Shri Keshar Singh
38. Shri Bhupendar Singh Seepaiya

**Special Invitees**

1. Shri Jagat Singh Negi ex. MLA
2. Shri Khanesh Dutt
3. Shri Raghuv eer Singh
4. Shri Braj Lal
5. Shri Devendar Chauhan
6. Shri Jagat Ram.

Source : BJP Publication, New Delhi.

## APPENDIX VI

### Heads of Morchas and Cells

1. Shri Dilla Ram	S.C. & S.T.
2. Dr. Rajan Sushant	Pong Dan oustees
3. Shri Rajendar Kishore Sharma	Law cell
4. Smt. Leela Tandon	Mahila Morcha
5. Shri Narendar Varagata	Kisan Morcha
6. Shri Panthi Singh Thakur	Panchayati Raj Cell
7. Shri Umar Abdullah Khan	Chairman Hajj Committee and Minorities cell

### District incharges

1. Kangra	Major D.D. Kannuria, M.P.
2. Mandi	Shri Kanhaia Lal
3. Hamirpur	Shri Anand Swaroop
4. Shimla	Shri Roop Das Dashyap
5. Chamba	Shri tulsii Ram
6. Sirmaus	Shri Chandra Mohan
7. Kullu	Shri Alam Chand
8. Uma	Smt. Sushma Swaraj
9. Solan	Dr. Dharam Chand Gularia
10. Bilaspur	Shri Karam Dev Dharmani
11. Kinnaur	Shri Vet Ram Negi
12. Lahul Spiti	Col. Hero Dogiya.

Source : BJP Publication, New Delhi.

APPENDIX - VII

List of Chief Ministers of Himachal Pradesh (1952-1994)

1.	Dr. Y.S.Parmar Congress I, Rajput	24.3.1952	-	31.10.1956
2.	Dr. Y.S. Parmar Congress I, Rajput	1.7.1963	-	14.3. 1967
3.	Dr. Y.S. Parmar Congress I, Rajput	14.3.1967	-	15.3.1972
4.	Dr. Y.S. Parmar Congress I, Rajput	15.3.1972	-	28.1.1977
5.	Thakur Ram Lal Congress I, Rajput	28.1.1977	-	30.4.1977
6.	Shanta Kumar Janta Party, Brahmin	22.6.1977	-	14.2.1980
7.	Thakur Ram Lal Congress I, Rajput	14.2.1980	-	24.5.1982
8.	Thakur Ram Lal Congress I, Rajput	25.2.1982	-	8.4.1983
9.	Virbhadhra Singh Congress I, Rajput	8.4.1983	-	8.3.1985
10.	Virbhadhra Singh Congress I, Rajput	8.3.1985	-	5.3.1990
11.	Bhanta Kumar Bhartiya Janta Party Brahmin	5.3.1990	-	15.12.1992
12.	Virbhadhra Singh Congress I, Rajput			5.12.1993

Source : Main Goverdhan Singh - Himachal Pradesh - History, Culture and Economy, Minerva, Shimla, 1992, p.224-225.

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3. Mr. C.L. Gupta former President, teachers cell of BJP, Himachal Pradesh, September 10, 1993.
4. Mr. Suresh Chandel (BJP), General Secretary, Himachal Pradesh, November 6, 1992.

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