

The following Discussion Paper on "Tasks Ahead" was placed for reflection before the National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party, meeting in Mumbai on June 22-24, 2004. It was further updated after incorporating the views and suggestions that emerged out of the deliberations of senior leaders of the Party at the Chintan Baithak in Goa (July 30- August 2, 2004). It formulates the main tasks before the Party in fulfillment of its resolve to reenergize itself in a comprehensive manner, in order to successfully deal with both the immediate and long-term challenges.

This document was presented before the special session of the National Council of the BJP, held in New Delhi on April 6, 2005 to commemorate the Rajat Jayanti (25th anniversary) of the founding of the Party. The National Council has resolved that it should be discussed extensively at all levels of the Party during the Rajat Jayanti year. After discussion, each unit of the Party should prepare, based on the various tasks mentioned in this document, an "Action Paper" detailing specific actions that it proposes to take. The next higher unit of the Party is expected to regularly monitor the implementation of the decisions taken by the lower unit.

Introduction

Growth is a way of life for any living and mission-driven organization. In the course of their growth, all such organizations face difficulties and develop shortcomings. Quantitative expansion brings in its wake qualitative deficiencies, which, if unchecked and uncorrected, can hinder further growth of the organization and even cause its decline. However, an organization that is aware of its purpose of existence and continually reminds itself of the goal for which it was founded, never fails to study these shortcomings and to overcome them by applying necessary correctives.

During the period of the Party's phenomenal growth since the late 1980s, many shortcomings have surfaced in the organization. These are inconsistent with our Party's ideals and

objectives, with our distinctive ideology, and also with our guiding organizational principles. The need for carrying out corrective measures had become apparent a long time ago. However, the setback that our Party suffered in the recently concluded parliamentary elections has made us acutely aware of both the extent of these deficiencies as well as of the urgency to remedy them.

This Discussion Paper, and the concerted action that will follow for implementing the tasks mentioned herein, are a testimony that the BJP is indeed an organization that has both a growth strategy and a self-correction strategy. It presents the tasks before us on five fronts: Ideological Front, Organisational Front, Legislative and Governance Front, Development Front and Political Front.

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IDEOLOGICAL FRONT :

Restoring the primacy of ideology and idealism

1: The BJP is not an ordinary political party in pursuit of power for the sake of power alone. Rather, it is part of a wider movement, which is guided by the ideology of nationalism and whose goal is to bring about India's all-round national resurgence. We should not be defensive or apologetic about projecting our distinctive ideological identity, about our relationship with other nationalist organizations, and also about our commitment to comprehensive social progress inspired by the eternal and universal values of our civilisation.

We should, in particular, mount a powerful and sustained counter-offensive against all those ideologies and political forces, especially the Congress and the Communists, who reject Hindutva as the basic identity of the Indian Nation; who have perverted the ideal of secularism for their narrow political ends; for whom maligning our Party and our larger movement as "communal" has become a necessity to keep alive their nefarious strategy of anti-BJPism; and in whose hands the destiny of our Motherland is decidedly not safe. As far as the BJP is concerned, 'Hindutva', 'Bharatiyata' and 'Indianness' are synonymous terms. Of the three, the BJP does not insist on the use of any specific term.

Our commitment to secularism - indeed, India's own commitment to secularism -- is rooted in the Hindu ethos and

world-view, which does not discriminate on the basis of faith and categorically rejects the concept of theocracy. We continue to stand for "**Justice for all, but appeasement of none**". We commit ourselves to strengthening the bonds of Indianness that unite all Indians irrespective of their religion, caste, tribe, region or language. While projecting our unique ideological identity, it will be our determined endeavour to counter narrow and sectarian projection of our ideology, as this harms both the BJP and the larger movement of which we are an integral part. *Desh Hit* (National Interest) is the touchstone of our ideology.

2: The BJP also reaffirms its commitment to the establishment of a progressive social order, based on the ideals of equality, equity, compassion, cooperation, social justice, social harmony, gender justice, Antyodaya, protection of the environment, preservation of family and social values, and the all-round development of the individual self as an essential precondition of human evolution. We do not subscribe to the theories of class struggle or caste conflict. We believe in the goal of *Sarve Janah Sukhino Bhavantu* (May all be happy).

National security and safeguarding the unity and integrity of our Nation will continue to be our highest priority. We remain committed to India's integrated and accelerated development, based on a Swadeshi concept, and by harnessing all the resources, opportunities and new ideas engendered by the changes in the Indian and global economy. Our approach to various national issues as well as issues of India's social and economic development are expressed in our resolutions from time to time. The most recent exposition of these was in the BJP's 'Vision Document', issued on the eve of the elections to the 14th Lok Sabha.

All the above-mentioned ideals, commitments and vision statements are expounded cogently in Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya's '**Integral Humanism**', which is the guiding vision of the BJP. Therefore, encouraging all our karyakartas and functionaries to understand the meaning of 'Integral Humanism' and the tasks it enjoins on us is a major ideological task before the Party.

3: It is not difficult to know why it has become necessary to make the entire party organization realise that we are an integral part of a larger nationalism-inspired movement, that we are working for a lofty goal of nation-building, and that a BJP worker

has no reason to be in the Party if he puts his personal interests above his duty to actively work for that goal. Nobody is taller than the organization. We have repeatedly observed that when karyakartas and functionaries are not guided by any lofty ideals, when they are not emotionally inspired by a larger goal, they tend to fall prey to lower-level objectives and considerations, which are alien to our tradition and even harmful to our movement. This is the principal reason why our country's polity is being infected with negative trends such as the rise of caste identities, self-centred behaviour, indiscipline, lack of mutual trust leading to weakening of the team spirit and camaraderie, and pursuit of power for its own sake. We must guard against these tendencies creeping into our Party.

The remedy to this malady lies in rededicating ourselves to the BJP's founding ideals and objectives. We have to carry this awareness right down to the grassroot workers of the Party, through various training, education and orientation programmes, and above all through the personal conduct of Party functionaries. Restoring the primacy of ideals and ideology has also become necessary to discourage careerists who are guided by the consideration of "What is in it for me?", and to encourage those who are willing to make sacrifices and remain with the party both in good as well as bad times. We should encourage our karyakartas to think "What have I given to the Party?" rather than "What has the Party given me?" Our motto has always been: "Nation first, Party next, self last." We will be able to deal with the gigantic challenges facing our Nation only if our party organization comes to be dominated by those who have a basic commitment to idealism and ideology.

4 The BJP's Five Basic Commitments (Panch Nishthayen):

As laid out in the Party's Constitution are - Nationalism and National Integration, Democracy, Gandhian approach to socio-economic issues leading to the establishment of an egalitarian society free from exploitation, Positive Secularism ('*Sarva Dharma Sama Bhava*') and Value-Based Politics. We need to popularize these basic commitments, which encapsulate our ideology, among our workers and members. Therefore, their popularization and elucidation is an important activity, which should be undertaken at every level for restoring the primacy of ideology in the Party organization.

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TASKS ON THE ORGANISATIONAL FRONT:

Combining the virtues of a mass party with a strong cadre network

The strength of the BJP lies in its unique nature of combining the virtues of a mass party with a strong cadre network. This strength will have to be further built up in the days ahead by augmenting both the virtues - expanding the mass base of the BJP and simultaneously enlarging and enriching our army of karyakartas.

1. Collectivity, Mutuality and Communication:

Collectivity (*Saamohikata*), Mutuality (*Parasparikata*) and Communication (*Samvaad*) are the three enlightened principles that have defined BJP's organisational culture. The points of action that follow from these principles are: Come Together, Think Together, Work Together. These help in strengthening our awareness of the common goal and purpose that unite us, and which we need to pursue in discharging our own individual responsibilities. Unfortunately, there has been some erosion of commitment to these principles at some levels in the Party. Lack of mutual consultation and coordination sometimes dilute the effectiveness of the Party's activities. Any deviations and distortions in this regard will have to be set right.

Commitment to mutuality is essential for communication. This commitment requires us to create an atmosphere of mutual affection (*Sneh*) and trust (*Vishwas*). Such an atmosphere enables colleagues both to appreciate each other's individual strengths, and also to point out the weaknesses in each other without any fear of misunderstanding. A Party colleague's good points should be talked about everywhere. When it comes to his weak points, these should be discussed one-to-one, in a suitable manner and with a friendly approach. Such an organizational ethos not only promotes discipline and self-discipline, but also helps in bringing about improvement in conduct.

2. Style of functioning is a part of our ideology: For these corrective measures to succeed, it is necessary to understand that, as far as the BJP is concerned, personal conduct and style of functioning are a part of our ideology. The two cannot be separated. Therefore, commitment to ideology has to be

additionally measured against the yardstick of behaviour and the style of functioning.

3. Commitment and accountability to Party, and not to individuals: The Party will have to take action at every level to ensure that positions and responsibilities are given to persons whose primary commitment is to the party, and not to any individual or group. Those in the latter category generally remain loyal and accountable to the group or the individual concerned, and not to the party. This makes the organization fragile and fissiparous, and renders it incapable of going to the people with a united face or dealing with challenges before the Party with cohesion, confidence and determination. We should create such a self-evident "Party comes first" atmosphere that even karyakartas who are tempted to cultivate individual loyalties can see for themselves that no benefit comes by doing "*Neta Parikrama*", and no harm comes by not doing so. Party activities should be centred in Party offices.

4. Need to stem indiscipline: There is an urgent need to promote and strengthen the culture of discipline and self-discipline at all levels, beginning with the higher echelons. The rapidly gathering impression that acts of indiscipline will be condoned and that even serious cases of anti-party activities will be overlooked, has done immense damage to the health of our organization. Earlier, the common people admired the BJP as "a party of disciplined leaders and cadres". This was something that even our ideological and political adversaries admitted. It must be the endeavour of our functionaries and karyakartas at all levels to live up to the people's expectations and keep up the BJP's image of a "Party with a difference".

One of the manifestations of indiscipline is the tendency to use the media to air one's grievances. Wittingly or unwittingly, some people in the Party share organizational matters with the media. This causes considerable damage to the Party's image and internal cohesion.

Sometimes, the absence of communication within the Party and the lack of an effective grievance redressal system make Party workers and functionaries breach discipline and commit wrongs. Therefore, we need to strengthen the system whereby workers and functionaries can air their grievances freely at proper forums

and feel satisfied. In cases of gross indiscipline and repeated misconduct, deterrent and demonstrative action needs to be taken.

In addition to enforcing discipline, efforts should be made to address the underlying problems and grievances, if any. In other words, discipline-strengthening activities and problem-solving activities should go on simultaneously. There should be no delays in discussing and deciding on issues of discipline. Grievance redressal should be strengthened, with focus on nipping problems in the bud.

Informal mechanisms for sorting out problems and redressal of grievances have always been a part of our organizational ethos. There should be some respected seniors in the Party at all levels, to whom functionaries and karyakartas can go and unburden themselves of their grievances. Our Party is indeed fortunate in having such elders at various levels who, though not active in day-to-day affairs, command the respect of the rank-and-file.

5. Holding regular meetings of the "Core Team": The tradition of regular meetings of the "Core Team" at the state and district levels for a comprehensive discussion of various political and organizational issues has to be strengthened. There should be at least two such meetings every year.

6. Holding organisational elections in a proper manner: Organisational elections should be conducted in such a manner that our tradition of unanimity based on consensus is maintained. Care should be taken to see that there is no recrimination and no factionalism. Also, we should guard against the tendency of the outgoing/ losing section becoming inactive after the elections. In this context, there are two specific suggestions: one, to delink membership drive from organizational elections; and two, evolving some kind of mechanism where key members of the outgoing team are given some responsibilities.

7. Leadership through sustained mass and organizational work: Our Party believes in leadership built through constant mass and organizational work. This has been a source of abiding strength for the Party. Any distortions in this regard will have to be rectified.

8. Inducting more full-time karyakartas: Full-time karyakartas are a source of strength for our Party. In our strategy

to re-energize the party organization at all levels, it has become necessary to induct, train and develop a large number of full-time activists, who have no ambition to enter electoral politics or to get positions in the organization. We should make special efforts to ensure that our karyakartas reflect the broad social composition of our diverse society. Ideological education, which motivates a person from within, has to be an important part of this strategy. How to accomplish this through both traditional and non-traditional ways is an important challenge before the Party.

9. Re-orienting the social identity of the Party: It should be our concerted effort to re-orient the social identity and the image of the Party. Over the past nearly 25 years, our Party has grown enormously, both socially and geographically. In spite of this rapid expansion, some people still carry on the propaganda that the BJP is a party of the middle classes, upper middle classes and upper castes. Our opponents, for their own selfish reasons, try to project the BJP as an "anti-Dalit", "anti-working class" and "anti-poor" party. We must resolutely counter this propaganda. It should be our endeavour to establish an emotional attachment between our Party and the people belonging to the poor, weaker and downtrodden sections of society.

In terms of its social base, its activities as well as its image, the BJP should be seen as a Party of all sections of society (*Sarva Sparshi and Sarva Vyapi*), and one which is broadly anchored among the common people and fervently champions the cause of their upliftment. We should go out of our way to transform the image of the BJP as a party that is "*Gramonmukh*" (Pro-Village) and "*Gareebonmukh*" (Pro-Poor). Our Party should strongly associate itself with the new *jaagruti* and *chetana* (self-awareness and assertiveness) among the under-privileged and under-empowered sections of our society. We should be in the forefront to espouse their legitimate aspirations and expectations, keeping in mind the overall needs of *samajik samarasata* and *samanwoay* (social harmony and balance).

The Party's identity is often formed by its leadership at various levels. Therefore, we should make special efforts to develop popular nationalist-minded personalities from rural and kisan backgrounds, as well as from SC/ST/OBC and Most

Backward Classes to be projected as BJP leaders at every level.

10. Energising Morchas and Cells: Morchas, Cells and the proposed Subject Committees are the means whereby the BJP can reach out to specific sections of society. The Party will soon prepare specific strategies to expand the activities of these structures among their respective constituencies in line with our overall growth strategy. We recognize that, in recent years, new groups and constituencies have emerged, both at the local and national levels, which require setting up new Cells. Example: the community of small investors, whose interests and concerns are generally overlooked by market forces and official institutions.

We also recognize that special efforts are required to further increase the Party's activities among numerically large communities such as tribals, denotified tribes, shepherds, fishermen, weavers, other artisans, etc., as also among vocal and influential groups such as teachers, lawyers and other professionals.

11. Expanding Party's activities among kisans and in rural areas: The Party has resolved to expand its activities among farmers, farm workers and other sections of the rural poor. Although this is the responsibility of the Kisan Morcha, it is become necessary for the entire Party to increase its work in rural areas in a major way. Hence, Party functionaries and workers at all levels should get associated with this work in a consistent way, tour rural areas frequently, and effectively articulate the issues of farmers and other rural communities in various forums. Programmes like the "Gaon Chalo Abhiyan" should be taken up on a regular basis and in more innovative ways. The Party's resolutions, statements and speeches of our leaders should reflect the importance we attach to the problems of kisans and rural areas.

12. Expanding the Party's work among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes: The BJP has rapidly expanded its support base among the SCs and STs in recent decades. However, there is an immense scope and also an urgent need to further intensify our efforts in this direction. Not only the respective morchas of the BJP, but also the Party as a whole have redouble our activities among these sections of society by championing their causes, highlighting their problems, protesting

against their exploitation and oppression, and, where needed, by launching agitational activities. We should also increase the scope of constructive activities, aimed at their socio-economic development and welfare, through voluntary organizations and NGOs. We should propagate our commitment to social justice and social harmony. All our efforts should be directed at establishing an enduring emotional bond between the BJP and our brethren belonging to SCs and STs. Our workers should conduct a sustained awareness creation campaign against those casteist parties and self-centred leaders among the SCs and STs who espouse a divisive and confrontationist attitude towards other communities, and whose politics is guided by opportunism and personal aggrandizement.

13. Expanding the Party's activities among the Minorities: The BJP believes that minorities form an integral part of our society. We care for them as much as we care for any other section of society, without any kind of discrimination. This is evident from the six-year-long track record of the Vajpayee government. However, due to the sustained and motivated propaganda carried out by our political adversaries, many misconceptions about the BJP and its ideology remain in the minds of our minority brethren. Not only the Minority Morcha, but the entire Party should make sustained efforts to remove these misconceptions. We should champion their issues in education, economic development and empowerment (what we call the "3-E Formula"), with a view to bringing them in the mainstream of the Nation's progress. We should also vigorously expose how pseudo-secular parties have failed to address these real issues and, instead, have been treating them only as a vote bank for narrow electoral considerations.

14. Expanding Party's activities among women: For a long time the Party has been aware of the need to expand its women-focused activities and develop new women karyakartas at all levels. This need has become more pronounced and urgent in view of the growing debate on the Women's Reservation Bill, which was first mooted by our own Party. It has become necessary to substantially increase women activists' participation in decision-making within the party organisation. Mahila Morcha should increase its work among the rural and urban poor, SCs,

STs, backward classes and minorities. It should also identify and develop new activists from these sections of society. The entire Party should get actively associated with issues relating to women's all-round empowerment.

15. Crucial role of the Yuva Morcha: Among all the Morchas of the BJP, the Yuva Morcha plays a crucial role in expanding our base among the youth, who now form a decisive and numerically significant constituent of India's population. Therefore, the Party units at all levels will have to pay utmost attention to encouraging its growth and guiding its activities. Non-student youth, who are numerically the largest section of the youth and also the least organised, will continue to be our focus. However, we should also endeavour to reach out to idealistic and socially conscious students in universities and other educational institutions through appropriate methods.

Experience has shown that three types of activity attract the youth to our Party: Mass awareness programmes that highlight issues of nationalism and counter pseudo-secularism; Agitational and mobilistional activities focused on employment, development, issues of injustice and corruption; and Constructive activities of various types - relief during calamities, sports, blood donation, etc. In addition to implementing national programmes, the Yuva Morcha units at the state, district and mandal levels, in consultation with the Party leadership at the respective levels, should draw up their own programmes in each of these categories. Our objective should be to attract committed and idealistic youth in large numbers towards the Party and keep them active in a sustained manner.

It has been observed that sometimes Yuva Morcha functionaries are nominated on the consideration of individual loyalties and preferences of Party functionaries. It is necessary to counter this and some other negative tendencies so that the Party is able to realize the full potential of the Yuva Morcha for advancing its political and organizational objectives. The age limit of 35 years for members and functionaries must be strictly adhered to. The Yuva Morcha should combine agitational, constructive and self-development oriented activities in proper measure. A special focus of the Yuva Morcha will be to instill the spirit of nationalism among the youth, so that they do not come under the

influence of casteist, sectarian and divisive forces.

16. Developing young leaders: Developing and projecting young leaders has become one of the urgent tasks before the Party. It should be our endeavour to bring promising young men and women in the age group of 20-25 years into the Party fold, train them for 3-4 years in our ideology and practical activities, provide them opportunities to get experience of governance in local bodies, and thereby enable them to emerge as competent young leaders of the BJP. We have to especially identify and encourage those young activists who belong to sections of society and to geographical areas in which the BJP needs to expand its influence and mass base.

17. Energising lower units of the Party: Activation of the lower units of the Party in all the States, and constant monitoring of their activities by higher units has become one of the urgent tasks for energizing the Party organization in sustainable manner. We must always remember that BJP workers in the lower units serve as the "Last Mile" personal contact between the Party and the people. Programmes announced at the national or state level are often not taken up below the district or mandal levels. This should be avoided.

Many colleagues have expressed the view that the booth-level committee, which is normally formed at the time of elections, should be considered the primary unit of the Party. If this unit is made the building block of the Party, and kept active in a sustained manner, it would not only be useful at the time of elections, but also strengthen the Party at the grass roots.

18. Election Management and booth-level activity: Over the years, fighting elections has become a highly complex, sophisticated and demanding exercise requiring long and meticulous planning. Our Party structure and functioning have therefore to be aligned to the imperatives of election management and, in particular, booth management. We cannot depend on publicity alone - especially, non-personal publicity through the media - to reach out to the voter. Activities such as checking the names of voters in the electoral lists, taking corrective and timely action wherever needed, preparing and distributing voter slips, visiting voters' homes, getting their feedback, and bringing them out to the voting booth, have become indispensable for achieving

success. Earlier, attention to these activities was one of the greatest strengths of our Party. Unfortunately, in some places, it has now become a major weakness.

For every election, right from panchayat election upwards, the concerned unit of the Party should identify which sections of our society are our "core supporters" and which sections can be won over through appropriate strategies to enlarge our support base to winning levels.

There is another important aspect of election management. Our opponents have been increasingly resorting to misuse of the official machinery and to tactics of intimidation and terror to hijack the election in their favour. Therefore, our Party units right down to the lowest level should be geared up to face this grave challenge and to ensure that elections are indeed free and fair.

In several States and constituencies, our Party functionaries have evolved a good system of election management and booth management. Their experience should be widely disseminated within the Party.

19. Periodic evaluation of the performance of MPs and MLAs: Experience has shown that a fairly large number of sitting MPs and MLAs of our Party fail to get re-elected. Often this is due to the "anti-incumbency factor" at the constituency level. We paid a fairly heavy price on account of this in the recent Lok Sabha elections. Therefore, the Party's central office, in cooperation with the state units, will have to put in place a mechanism for periodic evaluation of the performance of our MPs and MLAs. Similarly, our State units should conduct periodic evaluation of the Party's elected representatives in local bodies.

20. Upgrading training activity: Our determination to strengthen the ideological thrust in all our activities makes it necessary for taking up training of party workers not as a sporadic and marginal effort, but as a systematic and regular programme to be run at all levels of the organization. Also, training should not only cover issues of ideology, idealism, and development-related subjects, but also personal conduct and style of functioning, which are also a part of our ideology. Accordingly, the structure for carrying out this activity will be upgraded from a Cell to a full fledged Department on par with the six morchas. In course of

time, it will be developed into a Party School with necessary infrastructure in various centers across the country. The Party is setting up a training institute in memory of late Kushabhau Thakre in Bhopal. We already have the Rambhau Mhalgi Prabhodini in Mumbai.

The five major training camps proposed to be held within the next six months are as follows:

- a) A National Training Camp for key State-level functionaries
- b) State Training Camps for key district-level functionaries
- c) Training Camps for all MPs
- d) Training Camps for all MLAs
- e) Workshops for Ministers

In addition, the Party proposes to organize a separate training programme for Party spokesmen and others dealing with the media.

21. Observing special days in memory of martyrs, national leaders and great local personalities: This should become a mandatory activity at every unit of the Party. In addition to observing Dr. S.P. Mookerjee birth anniversary (July 6) and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya death anniversary (February 11), Party units should also hold programmes in honour of other national leaders and martyrs. In addition, they should regularly organize functions in memory of great personalities, belonging to diverse sections of society, in their respective state, region, district or mandal. These functions help in raising the ideological awareness of our Party workers, besides earning the goodwill of the general public.

22. Information, Documentation, Research and Communication: As an integral part of our effort to strengthen the information and intellectual edifice of the party, we will soon set up in the Party headquarters a full-fledged centre for data collection, documentation, research and communication with modern infrastructure and drawing on the vast reservoir of intellectuals and professionals who support the BJP.

23. Special activities: The Party's special initiatives like "Sahyog", "Samvaad", "Samarpan" and the "Aajivan Sahyogi Nidhi" campaign have generally evoked a good response.

However, there is a need to make them more effective through sustained efforts at all levels. Therefore, these have to be made mandatory.

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TASKS ON GOVERNANCE AND LEGISLATIVE FRONTS:

Setting new standards of performance and accountability

1 Improving the performance of BJP-run State

Governments: As the fervent proponent of Good Governance, the Party cannot overlook the imperative need to improve the performance of State Governments run by the BJP, alone or as a coalition partner. It is our bounden duty to ensure that the BJP-run governments are able to fulfill the aspirations of the people in their respective States and to meet the promises made in our election manifestoes. This has become all the more important in view of the growing importance of the anti-incumbency trend in Indian elections.

This is possible only with close coordination between the Government and the party, which is sometimes lacking. As a result, once elected into office, the Government does not feel accountable to the Party organization, and the Party organization does not feel involved in the activities of the Government. We have to evolve a workable system whereby the Party organization provides guidance to Chief Ministers, Ministers and elected representatives and monitors their performance. Equally, there has to be a systematic channel of getting feedback from the people as well as grassroot workers and communicating it to those in the Government for suitable action. This channel should also be used for communicating the Government's policies, programmes and achievements to the people, and for countering the negative propaganda of our opponents.

2 BJP in Parliament and State Legislatures: After having governed the country for six fulfilling years, the BJP's responsibility as the main opposition party in Parliament has grown manifold. Now we have to bring to bear on our new role the full benefit of our knowledge and experience of governance. The people of India expect the BJP to be "an opposition party with a difference", just as the Vajpayee government was seen as "a government with a difference". This casts a big responsibility on

our MPs and MLAs to perform well both in and outside Parliament and State Legislatures. For this, the parliamentary/legislative wing of the Party will soon prepare a plan of action.

As mentioned earlier, constituency-level anti-incumbency has come to affect the BJP's electoral performance in a major way. Therefore, we shall soon put in place an effective and transparent system of periodically evaluating the performance of our MPs, MLAs and public representatives.

3 Setting up subject-specific committees: In our party organization, we have envisaged the establishment of Morchas and Cells as structures to carry out two types of activities: to mobilize specific sections of society around the party and also to carry the party's message to these constituencies. With the passage of time, and especially in view of our experience of governance at the Centre, it has become necessary for the BJP to create some new structures to deal with specific subjects that have become important in our parliamentary and political work. Accordingly, the Party will set up subject specific committees at the national level comprising of former Ministers, MPs, Members of the National Executive and non-party experts. Examples: Committee on National Security, Committee on Employment Generation, Committee on WTO matters, Committee on Agriculture, Committee on Social Justice, Committee on Human Resource Development, Committee on Women's Empowerment, etc. Among other things, these committees will help the Party intervene more effectively in parliamentary and public debate on various issues and even set the agenda for such debates. State units should constitute similar subject committees at their level.

4 Interaction between karyakartas and elected representatives: An oft-heard complaint is that ministers, MPs and MLAs do not spare enough time to meet and interact with karyakartas. This malaise has to be checked primarily through self-corrective measures by individuals concerned. It is also necessary to put in place improved institutional ways of responding to karyakartas' suggestions and needs, and pursuing specific people-related works brought by them. MPs and MLAs must visit Party offices regularly, attend Party meetings and participate in Party programmes wherever expected.

5 Improving our performance in local self-governance

bodies: A large number of our members are elected members of Panchayats, Zilla Parishads, Municipal Councils and Corporations. Many of these local self-governance bodies are also being run by the BJP. There is a need to improve the functioning of our representatives in these bodies. Panchayat and Municipal good governance is an integral part of our commitment to Good Governance (Sushaasan).

6 Strengthening the Party's expertise in foreign affairs:

Another task before our Party, whose importance has immensely risen after our six years in governance at the Centre, is the need to expand and deepen the BJP's international linkages. Governments, political parties and international agencies around the globe have come to recognize the BJP as one of the two principal poles in what is the largest democracy in the world. They are showing growing interest in our Party, its policies and its stand on various issues of regional and international concern. The BJP, as a party wedded to the goal of India securing her rightful place in the comity of nations, also has to enrich its in-house expertise on foreign affairs and international developments. Hence, the task before has two aspects. One, the activities of the Overseas Friends of the BJP will have to be strengthened and extended to newer countries in the world. More importantly, our Parliamentary Party wing, the Foreign Affairs Cell and the Intellectuals Cell have to intensify their activities in this regard. Our Party should establish closer contacts with foreign missions in India and with important political parties around the world through regular interactions. Subjects of foreign policy and major international developments should figure in the Party's training programmes.

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TASKS ON THE DEVELOPMENT FRONT:

Highlighting both problems and solutions

The BJP's vision has two focal points: **Nationalism** (Rashtravaad) and **Development** (Vikas). We believe that both are a precondition for realizing our dream of a Resurgent India. There is a tremendous hunger for development among all sections of our society and in all regions of our country. The BJP has to

respond effectively to people's rising expectations for a better quality of life, as an integral part of its political strategy. Our understanding of the importance of development has deepened considerably after six years of the NDA government at the Centre. Indeed, we are proud of the many pathbreaking development initiatives unveiled under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Highlighting the Vajpayee government's achievements and initiatives in the area of development is, indeed, an important task before our Party workers.

1 Identifying important issues of development: In recent years, development-related issues like scarcity of power, roads and water (*Bijlee, Sadak, Paani*), malfunctioning of credit and marketing systems, growing gap between demand and supply in education and healthcare facilities, environmental degradation, problems of the small-scale sector and enterprises in the informal sector etc, are becoming highly sensitive issues politically. They concern the lives of the common people and, often, have a great impact on electoral outcomes. Therefore, our Party units at the state, district and mandal levels should identify important issues of development and people's welfare in their areas and highlight them in a sustained manner as a part of their regular political activity. Our effort should be to make the people associate the Party with such development issues, so that the people develop an emotional attachment with the BJP. We should especially take up issues that concern weaker sections of society and issues that impact large sections of the population. As far as possible, we should not only highlight the issues, but also present study-based solutions to them.

2 Strengthening the focus on employment and growth: In highlighting development issues, our Party's special focus should be on how to increase employment and self-employment opportunities, while at the same time accelerating economic growth in their areas.

3 Highlighting issues of regional and social imbalances: The importance of regional and social disparities in influencing state politics is growing. Our Party should take up these issues in a proper and effective manner, without conflict with or a negative attitude towards other regions.

4 Making development a regular subject in Party meetings: Subjects of development and people's welfare should become a regular part of the agenda of Party meetings at all levels. Concerted efforts should be made to associate experts in various fields with the formulation and articulation of Party's stand on these subjects. Party offices should have up-to-date information on key development parameters in their respective areas and knowledge about the performance of banks development agencies, etc. All this will impart to the BJP an image of a development-oriented (*Vikasonmukh*) party. In this context, our workers should go on highlighting the development initiatives and achievements of the six years of the NDA government.

5 Constructive activity: The BJP believes that there is more to Party work than political activity aimed solely at fighting elections and forming our governments. Indeed, in the BJP's founding conference in Mumbai in 1980, "*Samrachana*" (constructive activity) was one of the three directional principles we had adopted, the other two being "*Sangathan*" (organisation building) and "*Sangharsh*" (agitation). The time has come to make constructive activity an integral part of our organization building. Indeed, we have observed that wherever our karyakartas and functionaries are actively involved in social organizations, educational and healthcare institutions, NGOs, and cooperatives of various kinds, not only have they benefited but the Party too has been able to expand its support base. In particular, constructive activities that create employment opportunities and promote development of the village or the town have a special appeal for the people.

In this context, Self Help Groups have become an important employment-generation and income-enhancing means for mobilizing women and the youth. Similarly, social welfare activities undertaken by dedicated religious institutions have a large appeal in society. It is therefore worth considering that we make it necessary for every active Party worker to associate himself or herself with some constructive work. A consultation on this subject will be initiated soon before concretizing a plan of action.

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TASKS ON THE POLITICAL FRONT:

Expansion, Consolidation and Revival

A survey of the BJP's position in various States of the country would show that it would be useful to categorise these in four groups for the purpose of determining our future growth strategy.

1 BJP-ruled States: The first category consists of those States where the BJP is in power. Our overriding objective here is to simultaneously pursue the imperatives of good governance and good politics. Our governments should help the Party in consolidating and expanding our support base. Efforts should be intensified to improve the performance of our governments, strengthen the coordination between the Party and the Government, and to effectively communicate the Government's policies, programmes and achievements to the people.

In these states, those in the Government and the Party organization should together determine our strengths and weaknesses, and ways to augment the former and reduce the latter. They should identify the issues that are likely to figure whenever elections are held and also the issues on which the Party would like to seek a renewed mandate. Based on this determination, our Governments should reorient their policies, programmes and functioning, and our party units should draw up suitable plans for political work, organizational restructuring and propaganda. Popularisation of our governments' achievements, especially those that concern common people, should take place through the Party organization. There should be a mechanism for getting regular feedback from the grassroots workers of the Party as well as from the general public on the performance of our state governments. Party offices in every block should receive complaints/ grievances/ suggestions from members of the public, send them to concerned government offices/MLAs/ ministers and do follow-up. Not all the complaints and grievances can be attended to, but the people should know that our Party functionaries make an earnest effort to listen to them and help them with their problems.

One of the problems the Party has faced when in power (and this is also true about the six years of NDA government at the Centre) is the alienation of our workers from the government. It is of utmost importance to ensure that our cadres and core

supporters should have a sense of involvement and "ownership" in our governments. Greater opportunities should be created for Party workers to have a sense of participation in the activities of the government, and in monitoring the implementation of the policies and programmes of the Government. Every effort should be made to keep their level of motivation high. At the same time, the normal "opposition mindset" of our karyakartas (which has evolved due to long years spent in the opposition) should be changed to a "governance mindset". Our workers and supporters should know that they have a duty towards their own governments.

These twin tasks - creating opportunities for workers' involvement in government and inculcating in them a sense of duty towards the government - are difficult but indispensable. These can be accomplished only through close coordination between those in the government, functionaries of the state unit of the Party and MLAs. The Party Constitution requires setting up of Coordination Committees at state, district and mandal levels. Where such committees do not exist, they should be formed right away. (This applies even to states where the Party is not in power; in such states, the coordination committee should include Party functionaries and elected representatives.) Where they exist, their working should be strengthened. Utmost care should be taken to ensure that contradictions do not develop between those in the government set-up and those in the Party set-up. It should always be kept in mind that the Party organization is the mother of all the morchas, cells and wings. Hence, our belief in the supremacy of the Party over the legislative wing.

2 States where the BJP is the main opposition party:

The second category consists of those States where the BJP is not in power but is a formidable opposition party. Here our party units, legislature wings and morchas have to perform an aggressive role in exposing the failures and shortcomings of the incumbent governments. They should make mass agitations and mass contact programmes as the main thrust of Party's activities, especially on issues that are likely to figure prominently in the next elections. They should identify organizational weaknesses and take prompt action to set things right. The process of evaluating the performance of incumbent MLAs, identifying

winnable candidates, and resource generation at the local level should begin in right earnest.

3 States where the BJP has suffered a setback: The third category comprises States where the BJP was once a formidable force but has now become weak. Our Party units in these states should conduct an honest and thorough analysis of the factors that have caused the BJP's decline. There should be proper evaluation of the contribution of all the leading functionaries, based on which accountability has to be fixed. Promising new persons should be given an opportunity to come in place of those who could not perform. Party units and morchas should draw up a plan of action based on a careful determination of the issues that are agitating the minds of the people and are likely to define political events in their respective States. They should carefully look at the reasons that prompted those sections of society which were traditional supporters of BJP to go away from us. They should also identify such crucial sections of society in which our party has so far been weak but where we have a potential for growth.

4 States where the BJP remains weak: The fourth and the last category includes States where our Party has always had a weak or marginal presence. The BJP's enduring weakness in these States has cost our party dearly in the recent parliamentary elections. We have to make an in-depth study of the reasons for our prolonged failure to grow in these States. We should determine the special socio-political and cultural aspects of these States, which have hindered our growth and enabled other parties to dominate the political scene. Short-term plans, drawn up for one election after another, have not helped. Obviously, we should prepare a long-range growth strategy in these States. As a part of this strategy, we should implement a well thought-out cadre building plan in every Assembly constituency. While forging alliances may be necessary, it should be our endeavour to develop our independent strengths in specific geographical clusters and in specific sections of society.

5 Scheduled to go to the polls: Victory in election is most important in Politics. Our Party units should meticulously plan every aspect of their election strategy - issues to be made the Party's election

issues; mass contact, agitational programmes and publicity campaigns designed around those issues; checking the voters' lists; identification of winnable candidates; constituency-wise stock-taking of organizational preparedness; election management and booth management issues, etc. Local-level resource generation is also an important task.

6 Need to strengthen our alliances: Our Party can take credit for building the first viable and successful alliance at the national level. We should consolidate the gains of the NDA experience by learning the right lessons. We should develop good relations with our allies, wherever we have alliances. We should evolve a proper system, which is operational right from the national to local levels, to coordinate the relations between the BJP and its allies on a regular basis. This is especially necessary in states where the BJP is in power in alliance with other parties.

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BACK TO THE BASICS

The organizational tasks outlined in this document can be best summarized by the phrase "Back to the Basics". As in the days of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and in the early years of Bharatiya Janata Party our functionaries and main karyakartas must devote the main part of their time for party work for touring in their respective area of work, interacting with party workers, reaching out to the people, conceptualizing, planning and executing mass programmes. They should set standards in every sphere of work. It is important that each one of us is able to inspire the people with our idealism and our ideology.

From primary level right up to the top rungs of the party we should strengthen our old system of regular meetings, systematic planning, division of work and responsibilities, collective review and stock-taking, course correction and going forward to take up future tasks. This is how Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya used to guide us, and this is the path that Shri Atalji, Shri Advaniji, late Kushabhau Thakreji and other old timers followed in organization-building.

Each one of us must realize that we are what we are because of the Party. It is the Party consciousness, Party personality and Party identity with which we should align our own individual consciousness, individual personality and the individual identity. This is what we mean by "**Nation First, Party Next, Self Last**".

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The above draft Discussion Paper is not an exhaustive but indicative presentation of the immediate and long-term tasks ahead of the Party. The BJP has seen many ups and downs in the past. It has overcome many a setback by applying appropriate course correctives. We are confident that we shall do so yet again and emerge stronger to effectively face the challenges before the Party and the Nation. □