

MEETINGS OF THE ORGANISATION SUB-COMMITTEE AND PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The Organisation Sub-Committee and the Parliamentary Board of the Party met jointly in Madras on Saturday the 21st and Sunday the 22nd July 1962 under the Chairmanship of Prof. Ranga. Messrs C. Rajagopalachari, K. M. Munshi, R. N. Singh Deo, M.L.A., Bhailalbhair Patel, M.L.A., Dahyabhai Patel M.P., P. K. Deo, M.P., and M. R. Masani, General Secretary, were present. Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddy and Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy were present by special invitation.

Reports of the meeting were featured in the press under such headlines as —

"India's weak policy towards China resented — be firm Swatantra Party's desire" (*Times of India*).

"Stiffer stand against China — MIG deal to be opposed" (*Indian Express*).

"Swatantra Party urges break with China" (*Hindustan Times*).

A number of decisions of an organisational nature were taken at this meeting.

NEXT MEETING OF THE CENTRAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE:

It was decided that the next meeting of the Central Organising Committee should take place in Bombay on Sunday, September 30, and Monday, October 1.

MEMBERSHIP ENROLMENT

In view of requests received from State Parties all over the country applying for an extension of the last date for enrolment based on the difficulty of conducting an enrolment campaign during the monsoon, the Meeting decided to extend the date of enrolment of members to 30th November 1962 instead of September 30. It is to be clearly understood that no further extension will be considered.

STUDY GROUP

It was decided to set up a Study Group consisting of:—

Prof. M. Ruthnaswami,
Sardar Bahadur Lal Singh

and Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu,
to examine the plight to which this country has been reduced as a result of faulty planning on the part of the present Government and to consider how the country can be helped to get out of this predicament.

VILLAGE PANCHAYAT ELECTIONS IN ORISSA

The President of the Orissa Unit of the Party and the Leader of the Opposition in the State Legislative Assembly, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, produced before the Meeting a Congress Party leaflet violating that Party's pledge not to take part in Village Panchayat Elections. The meeting hoped that the Congress High Command would take notice of this indiscipline and ensure that the earlier policy of abstaining from Village Panchayat Elections would be maintained.

COMPLAINT AGAINST SWATANTRA M.P.

The meeting considered the report submitted by Mr. K. M. Munshi and Sir Homi Mody on the complaints made against the conduct during the elections of Mr. Ram Gopal Gupta, a member of the Party in the Rajya Sabha. The meeting accepted the findings of the Committee of Enquiry that Mr. Ram Gopal Gupta had attended the recount in the Gonda Parliamentary Constituency as the Counting Agent of the Congress candidate and had challenged the votes of his own Party's candidate and was thus guilty of gross breach of the Party's discipline. The meeting appreciated the embarrassment caused to Mr. Gupta by the fact that the Congress candidate he had assisted was his elder brother and head of his family. In the circumstances it was decided that a reprimand would suffice.

FUNCTIONING OF PARTY IN PARLIAMENT

The meeting then reviewed the functioning of the Members of the Party in both Houses of Parliament and dealt with various queries raised by the Acting Leader of the Party in the Lok Sabha and the Leader of the Party in the Rajya Sabha, who were present.

The meeting also gave guidance to members of Parliament in regard to issues of foreign policy that would come up during the next Session. The meeting considered the situation arising out of the latest Chinese aggression in the Galwan Valley as also the proposed M.I.G. deal. It called upon our Members of Parliament to call for a firm stand against Chinese aggression and oppose the M.I.G. deal.

FUNCTIONING OF THE PARTY IN THE STATE ASSEMBLIES

The meeting also reviewed the functioning of the Party members in various State Assemblies and the Central Office was asked to collect information about

the activities of Members in the various State Assemblies and the impact made by them.

CHINESE AGGRESSION

Later in the evening of the 22nd, at a Press Conference in Madras, the General Secretary, talking to reporters on the Joint Meeting, referred to the issues relating to foreign policy and said,

"Even the most aggressive attacks made in Chinese diplomatic notes are sought to be explained away and efforts are made to discern possibilities of peaceful settlement in the offing".

He added that the Swatantra Party would try to dissipate any such 'illusion' and call for firm resistance to further aggression by the Chinese on Indian territory.

Explaining that the Swatantra Party's policy on meeting Chinese aggression remained the same, Mr. Masani said that they had already called for a firm and vigilant policy in dealing with Chinese aggression. "When our territorial integrity has been violated and our soil occupied by a Communist Power, the concept of non-alignment has little meaning and should be reviewed and brought into closer relation to the realities of the international situation," he added.

Mr. Masani said, "Even without granting military operations, the Swatantra Party would suggest breaking off of diplomatic relations and the severance of trade relations with China. India should take the lead in calling for a Regional Conference of countries in the South and Southeast Asia and create a Regional Solidarity, so that an attack on one would be considered an attack on all these countries. By such Regional security arrangements, a firmer front could be built up against the Chinese, creating at the same time a balance of power alternative policy against the Chinese."

Mr. Masani said, "There was some reluctance on the part of the Union Government to pursue a firmer policy against the Chinese. Mr. Nehru's foreign policy had failed to deliver the goods as far as the Chinese were concerned. The Swatantra Party did not accept non-alignment as their supreme approach. They wanted a pragmatic policy through which 'we will be able to find friends and allies'."

"The Prime Minister," he said, "seemed to think that there was a cleavage between the Soviet Union and the Chinese, which was not a fact, though there was tension among the countries of the Socialist camp. Our whole posture must change and we should try to understand the nature of the enemy we are facing and face realities."

MIG DEAL

"Referring to the reported MIG deal, Mr. Masani said that the Party opposed the deal proposed to be entered into by India with the Soviet Union for the purchase and manufacture of Soviet aircraft engines in India.

The Party's opposition to the deal was based on several grounds. To begin with, the apparent advantage by way of savings in foreign exchange is 'illusory,' as with every little saving made, the country would sustain 'massive loss' in foreign aid from the West. Therefore, there was no gain on the economic plane also. On the plane of defence and security of the country, he said, "Apart from the fact that it would constitute an undesirable link with the Soviet bloc, particularly when India was up against Chinese aggression, dependence on Soviet made aircraft will be a dangerous business, because we will be to a large extent at the mercy of the Soviet Union who are the allies of the Chinese."

DMK AGITATION

Questioned about the Party's impressions about the D.M.K. agitation against higher prices and the disturbances that had broken out in Madras City and elsewhere, the General Secretary of the Swatantra Party was as critical of the Government's inflationary policies as any other. Only as recently as June the Party had observed a Week, when public opinion was sought to be educated against excessive taxation, wasteful public expenditure and inflation.

While saying that each Party must be the Judge of the methods it should adopt, Mr. Masani said, "I have made enquires and find that there was no attempt on the part of the D.M.K. to consult other Opposition Parties on this issue." He added that perhaps some of the unpleasant outbreaks of violence might have been avoided, had the local unit of the Swatantra Party in Madras been consulted and a more constructive channel given to the agitation.

CHITTOOR BYE-ELECTION

The Swatantra Party's campaign in support of its candidate by Prof. N. G. Ranga in the bye-election to the Lok Sabha from Chittoor has been building up satisfactorily and the prospects are held by Party elements to be exceedingly good. The first big public meeting held in Chittoor was on July 20, when Prof. N. Ruthnaswami and Mr. M. R. Masani appeared along with Prof. Ranga on the Party's platform. The date of polling has been fixed for August 25.

REORGANISATION IN KERALA

It has been decided that the organisation of the Party in Kerala should be based on three Zonal Units, viz. Northern Zone consisting of the districts of Calicut, Cannanore and Palghat, with its headquarters in Calicut, a Central Zone consisting of the districts of Ernakulam-Cochin and Trichur, with its headquarters in Ernakulam-Cochin, and a Southern Zone consisting of the districts of Kottayam, Alleppy, Quilon and Trivandrum, with its headquarters in Kottayam.

Taking advantage of the visit to Ernakulam of the Party's General Secretary on July 16, the Members of the Party in Ernakulam and Cochin got together, and on their recommendation the General Secretary has nominated the following Zonal Committee:—

Mr. S. Koder (Convenor) }
Mr. K. V. Vaidyanathan } — Ernakulam

Mr. K. Narayana Iyer }
Mr. Sebastin } Trichur
with powers to co-opt.

The following Zonal Committee has been appointed in respect of the Northern Zone.

Joseph Jacob, (Convenor) — Calicut
K. C. Zachariah — Calicut
K. P. Ibrahim Kutty — Calicut
V. S. Muthuswamy — Palghat
P. K. Krishnaswamy — Palghat
Major A. C. G. Nambiar — Tellichery

RAJAJI ON OUR MISSION

Following on the meeting of the Organisation Sub-Committee and Parliamentary Board in Madras, Rajaji has written a front page article entitled "Our Mission" in *Swarajya* on July 28, which is extremely important, for it has envisaged the building up of the Party on sound lines. The full text of the article is reproduced as Appendix "A".

GENERAL SECRETARY IN GUJARAT

Mr. Masani visited Ahmedabad on July 31 and met Members of the Party in the Gujarat Assembly. There was a useful discussion on the work of the Party in the Gujarat Assembly and on Party Organisation in general.

At an earlier visit to Ahmedabad on June 26, Mr. Masani had addressed the Harold Laski Institute on the subject of "Party Politics in India". In view of the concrete organisational proposals made by the Party's General Secretary, which would ensure the Party's success in the 1967 General Elections, a summary of his talk is to be found as Appendix "B".

MEETING OF TRADE UNION WORKERS

A Conference of Trade Union workers belonging to the Swatantra Party met in Bombay on July 28 & 29. The Conference was attended by twenty six Trade Union functionaries and workers from thirteen industrial centres in the country.

The meeting discussed ways and means of creating greater interest within the party on problems of labour and in the development of Trade Unions on sound lines. While reiterating the Party's stand that Members of the Party should help the workers to organise Trade Unions controlled and managed by themselves in a spirit of service rather than of leadership, it was felt that the Party should seek to educate workers about the evils of political exploitation and domination which are so widely rampant in the Trade Union movement in India today.

The Conference endorsed the Party's policy not to seek to establish yet another central organisation of Trade Unions inspired or dominated by the Party, and advised that members of the Party should seek to establish or develop independent Trade Unions unaffiliated to one or the other of the existing politics-ridden Trade Union Federations. Members of the Swatantra Party should carry on their political propaganda among the working classes in the name of the party, while those functioning in Trade Unions should devote themselves to representing the economic grievances of the workers concerned.

The Conference decided to recommend to the Central Organising Committee of the Party the establishment of a Labour Advisory Committee, which would have the following functions:—

- 1) To advise the Central Organising Committee of the Party on matters of policy concerning labour;
- 2) To encourage and guide members of the Party in the formation and development of Trade Unions;
- 3) To encourage Members of the Party to serve the working class through the amelioration of their problems such as housing, education and medical relief.
- 4) To organise the training of Members of the Party functioning in Trade Unions, in the principles and practice of genuine Trade Unions.
- 5) To act as liaison between Trade Unions and Swatantra Party members of Parliament and State Assemblies with a view to ensuring that their problems are ventilated and the grievances of workers are brought to the notice of the legislatures.
- 6) To prepare and publish literature explaining the Party's Statement of Policy in regard to labour.

The General Secretary of the Party assured the meeting that he would convey to the Central Organising Committee the recommendations of the Conference and expressed the hope that, as a result of their efforts, the social base of the Swatantra party would become more broad-based and embrace a large section of the industrial workers in India.

NEWS FROM STATE PARTIES

ANDHRA

Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddy, Andhra Pradesh Swatantra Party President, has criticized in trenchant terms the land tax Bill which was to raise the land revenue by cent per cent. He pointed out that if land tax was raised, the total tax paid by the agriculturist would be Rupees forty-two per acre, which he pays apart from other indirect taxes on various general amenities. The increase in land value did not indicate the prosperity of the small cultivators. It now made more precarious the position of small land owners leasing out their lands under the conditions of tenancy legislation on the anvil. When food is the urgent need of the country, such taxation discourage those who desire to take to cultivation anew.

A general meeting of Andhra Pradesh Ryots under the Presidentship of Mr. C. K. Narayana Reddi, Swatantra M.L.A., was held to protest against the cent per cent enhancement in certain spheres of Andhra Pradesh Land Revenue. An appeal was made to the people, and to peasants in particular, to protest and prevent the Government from enacting the Bill now before the Select Committee into law. The resolution on they levy condemned this additional taxation, as it could strike the very root of the agrarian policy and economy. It was agreed at the meeting that July 24, would be observed as Protest Day. A resolution was also passed asking the Government to settle the 'Kendu Leaves' dispute with the Orissa Government and to begin the construction of the Vamsadhara and Upper Sileru projects. About seventy-five delegates from all over the State, including Swatantra M.L.A's were present.

BIHAR

Raja Jagat Kishore Prasad Narain Singh, M.P., Vice-President of the State unit, is now officiating in place of the President who has at present gone abroad.

BOMBAY

Swatantra Party volunteers, led by Mrs. Dandekar and Mr. Piloo Mody, staged a silent demonstration at the Churchgate Railway Station. Another group under Mr. Madhu Mehta demonstrated at the Victoria Terminus. These are the two headquarters of the Western and Central Railways. They displayed placards denouncing the increase in rail fares. Earlier, Mr. Dandekar, the President of the Bombay Swatantra Party, in a press statement had said that the increase in rail fares and freight charges would inflict an additional burden on people least able to shoulder them. This increase need not have taken place if the Ministry of Railway had taken adequate measures in economizing in spheres where admittedly there was scope. He also referred to, and questioned, the frequency of rail accidents.

Party workers in several batches held a series of

demonstrations for a couple of days, till June 30, in front of Western and Central Railway Stations. A procession from the Swatantra Party's Head Office marched to protest in front of the Railway Headquarters.

On July 1, the day of the increase in fares, Volunteers picketed important stations of the suburban sections of the Railways. Passengers, as a mark of protest, were asked to refrain from using the trains on this day.

The Swatantra Party in Bombay launched a counter agitation against the strike of municipal employees led by the Socialist Municipal Mazdoor Union. The Party supported their employees' demand for the Rupees ten Dearness Allowance wage rise, but strongly resented the Union asking strikers to abstain themselves from essential duties in hospitals. Volunteers of the Swatantra Party picketed in front of the Union offices at Charni Road.

GUJARAT

Various Opposition Party Leaders criticized the Government's New Taxation Scheme. Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, Swatantra Party leader and also the Leader of the Opposition, condemned the proposals for their adverse effect on the rural sector. The levy on the "Gaonthan", as well as on the acreage of cash crops, like tobacco, and others would cripple the small farmers.

Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, when not in attendance at the Assembly, toured the villages of his constituency with Mr. Mahida. Later, he undertook a week's tour of Saurashtra, where the people of Bhavnagar, Rajkot, Amreli and various other places accorded a warm ovation to them. He also visited Mehsana District, Panchmahala, and Dhanduka where the Swatantra Party failed partly because the people were not too well acquainted with it. In Kutch, where each and every seat contested was won by the Swatantra Party, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel was most warmly received. He also attended the regional meeting at Vallabhidyanagar.

The site where the tragic disaster took place due to the overloading of a State Transport bus, in which sixty-nine passengers of a total of ninety were killed, was visited by Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel. He later went to the hospital to comfort the injured and the relations of the dead. Mr. Dhanwant Shroff, a zealous Swatantra worker, was amongst the first of the men to reach the fatal vehicle with a group of volunteers to assist the injured.

A meeting of the Swatantra workers of Ahmedabad and the surrounding villages was held at the Party Office to discuss and plan work in the District. The reorganization of the office and a strong Party build-up under the freshly started ad-hoc committee has stirred great enthusiasm.

The Kshatriya Sabha held its deliberation in Nadiad on May, 27 and 28, '62. Many prominent leaders of the Swatantra Party, including Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel and various Swatantra MP's. and MLA's attended the deliberations.

MADRAS

A meeting of the members of the Salem District Swatantra Party was held on July 1, 1962, at the Vijayaraghavachariar Memorial Hall, Salem under the Presidentship of Mr. G. K. Sundaram, Vice-President of the Tamil Nad Swatantra Party. Mr. S. S. Mariswami, General Secretary of the Tamil Nad Swatantra Party, was also present. About a hundred invitees from all parts of the District attended the meeting. An adhoc committee consisting of the following office bearers was unanimously elected:

President

Dr. S. Krishnamurthi Rao

Vice Presidents

Mr. R. Arunachalam

Mr. O. V. Manickam

Mr. R. Doraiswamy (Resipuram)

Mr. Chinna Muniiswamy Chetty, M.L.A.
(Uddanapalli)

Dr. Dr. K. Ranganathan (Tiruchengode)

Secretary

Shri. M. Srinivasa Reddiar (Viraganur)

Joint Secretary

Mr. T. T. Srinivasan (Salem)

Treasurer

Mr. V. R. Thangavelu

Several members stressed the need for creating consciousness amongst the masses with regard to the present economic crisis of the country.

It was resolved to set up a hundred village committees for each one of the twenty-three Legislative constituencies and to start a vigorous campaign to enlist members.

MYSORE

The Bellary District Unit launched a two-week programme for mass contact from the village level, for party organisation and a membership drive. The campaign began in the Bellary and Siruguppa assembly constituencies, and the executive committee hopes to extend it to other talukas. Mr. D. Gopala Rao, general secretary, accompanied by Mr. Mundhir Anjanappa and Mr. S.D. Harupa Reddy, members of the executive committee, and Mr. Bhavikatti Hanuman, along with various other party members of the Swatantra Party, toured and addressed meetings at about fifty major villages. They explained the principles and objects of the party to the people and the efforts made to arrest administrative derelictions.

People have begun to be indignant over various Government measures, such as the attempts at forcible collection of arrears of land cess from ryots whose lands have been localised as "dry-irrigated", but have not been fed by the Tungabhadra water due to administrative callousness; the nationalisation of the bus service in the tooth of opposition and inflation. The Swatantra Party has voiced these grievan-

ces of the people. About 4,500 protests signed on individual post-cards, numerous telegrams, protest resolution passed at public meetings, and other representative bodies, like the Panchayat Board, have been sent to the Chief Minister and other Ministers of the Government of Mysore.

The general secretary, Mr. D. Gopala Rao, expressed his opinion that, in Bellary District, the people's support went to the Swatantra Party, but it was felt that it did not give the kind of leadership the enormity of the problems required.

PUNJAB

A combined public meeting of the various opposition parties was held at Faridkot, in which the Swatantra Party was represented by Sardar Balbir Singh Brar, the newly nominated Organiser for the Punjabi area. A number of public meetings were also held in the Haryana region to mobilise public opinion, notably at Sonapat and Karnal.

Press Sub-Committee

The first meeting of the Press Sub-Committee took place at Jullundur, under the chairmanship of Chaudhri Karam Singh. Three members, of the total of five participated in its deliberations. At a later date the committee again met at Amritsar.

Special Re-organisation Sub-Committee

A meeting was held at Chandigarh. The meeting was attended by the State resident, Jathedar Udhham Singh Nagoke, Sardar Basant Singh, Chaudhri Inder Singh, (Narwana) and Mr. Paramjit Kumar. Amongst various matters, the general post election situation in the province was discussed and a rough programme was chalked out which was to be considered, in its next meeting, convened in the State Office at Patiala. The following members participated in the later meeting:

Jathedar Udhham Singh Nagoke

Raja Maheshindra Singh

Chaudhri Ram Singh M.L.A. (Jind)

Chaudhri Inder Singh (Narwana)

Sardar Basant Singh

Param Jit Kumar (Chandigarh)

The Special Sub-Committee considered the recommendations of the Press Sub-Committee with which it could not agree due to technical difficulties. Chaudhri Ram Singh, M.L.A., Leader of the Swatantra group in the State Legislature, in his speech to the Sub-Committee stated that the Coordination Committee was to prepare the ground for the joint endeavour against the ruling party, to gain momentum against the 'Temporary Taxation Bill' of the Government of the Punjab. One of the proposals for having the bill withdrawn was to wait in deputation upon the State Governor and the President of the Union. This proposal would be finalised in the next meeting of the Co-ordination Committee.

In the Haryana region, the Regional Organiser Chaudhri Inder Singh, visited Karnal, Panipat Sonapat, Kaithal, Gurgaon and Hissar.

RAJASTHAN

For the first Session of the State Legislature, the Swatantra Party President and the other successful Party candidates from almost all the parts of the State met at Jaipur. On March 13, all the 37 Swatantra M.L.A's and the three M.L.A's of the Ram Rajya Parishad who have agreed to make a common cause on the floor of the State Legislature assembled at the Government Hostel, Jaipur, and unanimously elected the following office bearers.

Leader

Maharawal Lakshman Singh of Dungarpur

Deputy Leaders

Mr. M. K. Jaish Singh (Malpura)

Raja Man Singh (Deeg)

Chief Whip

Mr. Man Singh of Mahar

Secretary

Mr. Radhakrishna Goel (Tonk)

Mr. Mathuresh Bihari (Dausa)

Treasurer

Mr. Raghubir Singh Bissaur.

Later the Maharawal nominated Mr. Chosar Singh and Mr. Nathulal Karol as Assistant Whips.

In the Legislature, the Maharawal of Dungarpur, Man Singh of Bharatpur, Mr. Mathuresh Bihari and Mr. Radhakrishna Goel, Mr. Man Singh of Mahar, Mr. Durgalal Bardar, Mr. Nathoo Lal Karol and others expressed their ideas effectively in the debates on various items.

The Maharawal visited Ara, Tamatiya, Galiakot and Sagwara. He addressed a public meeting at Sabla in Aspur Tehsil of Dungarpur District, in which over 15,000 persons participated.

Mr. K. N. Sharma addressed a public meeting at Salumber, a town in Udaipur District and criticised the taxation policy of the Government. Public meetings were held at various places in the State to observe Anti-Tax Week. The Secretary of the Jaipur Unit, Mr. Devisingh Mandava, convened meetings in Jaipur city. Mr. Mansingh Mahar, M.L.A., Mr. Durgalal Bardar, M.L.A., Professor Madan Singh, Mr. Roop Narain Pandey, Dr. Ramanand, Mr. Bhanwar Lal Vasishta, Miss Chandra Kanta, Mr.

Takisuddin and Mr. Devi Singh Mandwa were amongst the prominent speakers at these meetings. Professor Madan Singh, President of the Ajmer Unit, organised public meetings in the city, and the rural area of the Ajmer District. Similarly Shri Bulaki Dass Acharya, Convenor of the Nagaur Swatantra Party held meetings to observe Anti-Tax Week in Nagaur city.

UTTAR PRADESH

A meeting of the Organising Committee of the Eastern zone attended by all the members of the Legislative Assembly was held at the residence of Shri Raghavendra Pratap Singh of Mankapur. He appealed to members, to work vigorously for the enrolment drive and organize ad hoc committees. The meeting also decided to have a signature campaign against the new taxes and wasteful expenditure.

The local Units of the Swatantra Party in Uttar Pradesh observed Anti-Taxation and Anti-Wasteful expenditure week. Public meetings were organized, demonstrations held, and resolutions were passed against the taxation policy of the Government.

WEST BENGAL

A Week to advocate public opinion against Excessive Taxation and Wasteful Public Expenditure was observed at various places of West Dinajpur district in West Bengal.

Mr. Umesh Chandra Roy and Mr. Bhimlal Sarkar, presided over the largely attended public meetings held at Mahendraganj and Kushmandi respectively. Mr. Ram Narayan Bhadra, General Secretary, West Dinajpur District Swatantra Party, at both the meetings denounced the taxation policy and wasteful expenditure incurred by the Government. He discussed at great length the Swatantra Party's plan to mitigate these evils.

Sponsored by the District Swatantra Party, the formation of the "West Dinajpur Krishak Sangha" was announced by Sri Bhadra. Under the presidency of Professor M. N. Majumdar, this Sangha will try to ameliorate the conditions of the local farmers.

The district Unit of the Swatantra Party in Bankura published and distributed a large number of leaflets to educate the masses on the causes and effects of inflation now prevalent in the country. Several meetings were held.

APPENDIX A

OUR MISSION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

WELL in time before the next occasion arrives for a trial of strength against the ruling power, it is necessary that those who are interested in the Swatantra Party should do some earnest thinking. Unless we realize wherein our strength lies and also in what respects we are, and must continue to be,

weak or vulnerable, and on the basis of that analysis shape and build our work, we are likely to meet with depressing results and disappointments. Talking as to simple folks, a dog knows what it can do and what it cannot do and a crow, likewise, instinctively relies on what it can rely on. The crow does not give

battle or defend itself where the dog is bound to prove the better of the two. The comparison should not be thought to be a complete simile. I have used it only to explain the point that those interested in the Swatantra Party should examine the principles on which the party is founded and the inherent nature of those principles, and adapt their work to that unalterable basis. The Party's work should conform to its anatomy and histology.

Examining the principles of the party, we shall see that our economic approach is based on reason and not on pleasing people's emotions. Our goal is the same as that of every other decent political party, viz., the happiness, prosperity and progress of our nation; but the means by which this result is to be attained vary from party to party. We lay stress on spiritual values because happiness cannot be procured otherwise, whatever be the material conditions. We lay stress, again, on the traditional basis of the lives of our people, the family and the farm, and the artisan's workshop. We put the individual's liberty of action in the forefront and seek to restrict the State's authority over him. Our party seeks to rest social service largely on voluntary action, because therein only is happiness associated with sacrifice of self-interest.

Now it is obvious that these essential principles are such as can appeal only to reason and intelligence. We cannot expect to rouse the emotions of the illiterate masses by such appeal. Our principles cannot make much of an appeal to those who would be lazy rather than active, who would like the State to do as much as possible for them, and relieve them of responsibility for their own lives. We cannot therefore touch the mass mind as easily as other parties can, who offer free gifts from the Exchequer or from other people's properties robbed by 'legal' process. We cannot excite them with promises of egalitarian distribution of wealth, to be obtained somehow by some body. We have to work hard and educate the educatable over the economics of freedom which we have adopted as our party's basis as distinguished from Statism and State capitalism for which the Congress and the communists stand. We have to make people see the spiritual losses and material defects inherent in the latter.

It is only reason that can appreciate the need for a voluntary element in social service. The mass mind will not easily perceive the evils of State coercion. We must however, face our own more difficult task because that is our mission, and not the acquisition of power somehow or other. Our party workers must, therefore, apply themselves to the intelligentsia and not seek to jump over them to the proletariat or the 'masses' as we call them in India, which the communists, and now the Congress, can do with their programmes and policies specially made attractive for them and based on class conflict although to the detriment of true national interest. We should not think of improving our party position by competing with the Statists on their lines.

The question arises, then, how can we hope to get votes to defeat other parties at the polls? Convinced that our principles are right, and that it is necessary in the national interest that we must put up an opposition on the basis of those principles, we must persevere in our mission not concerning ourselves with calculations of success or defeat. As the *Gita* teaches us, we should work patiently through the discerning elements of the population and look to the steady dissemination of ideas through that medium. We must believe more thoroughly in the motto of the State than does the ruling party: *satyam eva jayate*: Truth must ultimately win. The masses will not ultimately reject justice and truth and good administration although now they may be open to seduction.

For the same reason and consistently with the fundamental principles of our party, we must lay stress on character and good example in all the ramifications of our work. If we adopt means of *adharma*, whatever be our motives, we shall build in haste and error and the structure must collapse.

The movement towards democracy from other forms of government is a movement towards the wider distribution of the power of the State. It is not a reinterpretation of truth or reason in terms of democracy. There is no illusion or fallacy more harmful to the people than that truth or reason should yield to or be modified by, the installation of democracy. Democracy is not an adulteration of reason, but only a wider distribution of power that is involved in the system of governance to which that name is given.

Just as in our non-violent struggle for national freedom based on Ahimsa and Truth we did not at all stages and everywhere live up to the expressed principles, and yet the international situation and the hour came to help us to win our goal, so also our struggle for freedom against the statism of the Congress and the communists may with Heaven's grace—in spite of our failings—win more speedily than we may expect. Extraneous circumstances such as the corrupt practices that have so rapidly developed out of statism and which stare the people in the face may help us. But we must ever stick to our main path, that of appealing to reason.

I have founded the party. I feel I have not done wrong. It was a good and necessary thing that I did. The nation stands in need of such a party of stiff opposition to the trends of the ruling party that is exploiting the glory of the Indian National Congress and going contrary to the principles advocated by Gandhiji. Our processes must necessarily be slow. They cannot run as fast as time runs against me. It is therefore for the younger people to remember what I have said herein and to carry on the work with a sense of mission and with faith in Truth and God.

APPENDIX B

"A political party is a means to an end and not an end in itself. Therefore the attitude 'my party right or wrong' is as unworthy of credence as that older slogan 'my country right or wrong'," observed Mr. M. R. Masani, General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, in Ahmedabad in the course of a discussion on the limits of party politics in a free society. Mr. Masani was delivering an address on "Party Politics in India" at the Harold Laski Institute on June 26.

In a backward and predominantly illiterate country, it was natural that organisation should count for more than ideology and that the strength of the machine should decide elections. Thus, the Swatantra Party's principles and policies had evoked widespread response but its limited resources in the way of funds and workers had prevented its message from reaching millions of voters.

Discussing the factors that may determine whether or not a particular party would make the grade in the General Elections in 1967, the speaker said that, with political power and economic patronage combined in the hands of the ruling party, only an Opposition party which was accepted by the people as morally superior to that in office could hope to win the people's confidence. Otherwise, all its talk of corruption in the ruling party and all its promises to provide good government would meet with scepticism. No amount of money, local influence, or caste solidarity would enlist the support of the electorate unless the image of a party in the minds of the electorate was that of one made up of good men and true animated by a genuine desire to serve the country and working hard for the cause.

Mr. Masani felt that the following measures would help in creating such an image:

(i) Candidates for Parliament and Assembly should be chosen provisionally four years ahead of the next General Elections and be finally nominated a year before the elections in the light of experience. Mr. Masani welcomed Mr. Nehru's advocacy of this practice, which he himself had been advocating during the last two years.

(ii) The quality and credibility of the party's candidates in terms of competence and integrity would be decisive. Hence men of dubious character should be ruled out despite their attractiveness on grounds of caste, local influence or financial resources.

(iii) The building up of a cadre of intelligent and loyal workers through and round whom the organisation could be built up at grassroots level should be given priority over the enrolment of large numbers of 25 naye paise members.

(iv) The social basis of the party must be broad-based, including farmers, industrial and agricultural workers, artisans, shopkeepers, women and youth.

(v) The maintenance of a high level of discipline

and rectitude and the purging of elements guilty of indiscipline and malpractices.

(vi) The collection of small contributions from a large number of middle-class and poor people in place of reliance on large contributions from a few with means.

"I am aware," said Mr. Masani, "that there are intelligent people, honest in their own personal lives, who believe that, in a backward country like ours, condoning casteism, indiscipline and mishandling of funds helps in building a party. I am deeply convinced that, quite apart from moral considerations, this approach is even pragmatically unsound."

Turning to the ideological pattern of the party system in India, the speaker deplored the use of labels like 'Left' and 'Right' which every student of political science knew had become meaningless in the world of today. "There can be nothing more reactionary," observed Mr. Masani, "than the communist ideology, with its belief in totalitarian control of every aspect of life and the complete servitude of the people, and yet it is labelled 'Leftist' along with democratic socialist elements. There can be nothing more progressive and radical than the philosophy of the Swatantra Party with its stress on individual liberty, the dignity of the human personality and the assertion of the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution, and yet it is often described as 'Rightist'!"

Analysing the ideological content of the Swatantra Party's programme, Mr. Masani said that, while there was room in the Party for those who wished to conserve what was best in the country's history and traditions, it was essentially a programme of Liberalism and Gandhism. The belief in ordered progress through minimum government and the fullest measure of individual liberty was the essence of Liberalism and the core of Gandhiji's philosophy.

The missing element in Indian democracy was an effective opposition. Because of the system of election and the multiplicity of Opposition parties, the recent elections had failed to fill that vacuum. In the absence of Proportional Representation, the wishes of the electorate had been distorted and a minority government, which had not obtained more than 45 per cent of the popular vote at the Centre and in all but four States, was today ruling throughout the country with inflated majorities. Since there was little hope of the ruling party, which benefitted from this inequity, agreeing to electoral reform like the introduction of the list system or the Alternative Vote, the only solution for democratic opposition parties was to arrive at understandings designed to eliminate inter-oppositional contests. For the failure to achieve this in 1962, the Swatantra Party at least could not be blamed for it was the only Opposition party that sought vainly to bring about such an adjustment.

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