

PROFESSOR RANGA WINS CHITTOOR BYE-ELECTION

Professor Ranga, the Party's President, emerged victorious by a majority of 1553 votes over his Congress rival Mr. T. N. Visvanatha Reddy in the bye-election to the Lok Sabha from the Chittoor constituency — held by a single Congressman since Independence.

The *Indian Express* reporting on Professor Ranga's victory added:—

"Prof. Ranga survived the biggest challenge thrown by the Congress-Communist combine against the Swatantra Party in this crucial bye-election.

The largest array of the Andhra Congress leaders with the full support of the Madras-trio Kamaraj, Bhaktavatsalam and T. T. K. and also the Mysore contingent headed by Mr. M. V. Krishnappa stirred the otherwise sedate Chittoor electorate into a dust-raising electioneering. Swatantra luminaries spear-headed by Rajaji and Mr. M. R. Masani shed further light in this bye-election, turning the nation's spotlight on Prof. Ranga."

"The Congress defeat here is further significant that it has lost ground in nearly all the seven assembly constituencies."

In the course of an interview to a correspondent of the *Indian Express* soon after the result was announced, Rajaji stated:— "I am glad that the Himalayan efforts of the Congress Party plus the full-blooded co-operation of the Communists have failed to defeat Prof. N. G. Ranga and the Swatantra Party. The very fact that so many Chief Ministers and Ministers concentrated at Chittoor was enough to show that the Congress was desperately on its defence."

Professor Ranga in a statement added:—

"In this fight between the people and the Government, God had helped the people to triumph." He hoped the Congress Government would take a warning from the people against their policies of inflation, deficit financing, heavy taxation, especially their enhancement of land tax and the weak-kneed defence and foreign policies in the face of growing Chinese aggression and encroachment."

SWATANTRA IN PARLIAMENT

Mr. M. R. Masani, the General Secretary of the Party in a press Statement in Bangalore on August 7 referred to an invitation reported to have been extended by a Hindu Maha Sabha member of Parliament to fifty-five members of the Lok Sabha including

members of the Swatantra Party, to join in forming a new party in the Lok Sabha.

"The proposed objectives of the new Party," Mr. Masani said "are a somewhat mixed bag with sound ones, like combating appeasement of Chinese aggression, rubbing shoulders with objectionable ones like an attack on the rights of minorities like Christians and Muslims."

"The Parliamentary Board of our Party at a meeting in Madras on July 21 and 22 considered such a possibility and decided that members of the Swatantra Party in Parliament should not join any larger party or bloc."

Mr. Masani, however, added that the Party had told its members that the "fullest possible liaison and co-operation should be developed with like-minded groups and individuals on such issues as opposition to statism and to appeasement of Communist China."

OMBUDSMAN FOR BUSINESS?

Mr. M. R. Masani, has suggested that the leaders of business and industry should set up an inquiry body to investigate the charges of misconduct and corruption levied against those in charge of business.

This inquiry, he said, could be on the lines of the Scandinavian Ombudsman.

Mr. Masani, who was addressing a meeting of the Ahmedabad Rotary Club, said that the anti-social conduct of certain sections of business had given a bad name to the entire community. That was further aggravated by the propaganda of Communists and their fellow-travellers in the Congress.

Mr. Masani also suggested to business men to join political parties which reflected their way of life. He cited the example of their counterparts in Japan, Britain and the U.S.A. He wanted the business man to give a lead to the lower middle class and the peasantry whose very existence was being threatened by the inroads of State Capitalism.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS IN JEOPARDY

Addressing the Third All India Law Conference in New Delhi on August 13th, in his capacity as Chairman of a Conference Committee on Fundamental rights, Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Party's Vice-President, stated that during the last few years the scope of civil fundamental rights had been considerably narrowed down in several respects by judicial decisions. He gave three major causes for this process:—

First there was a growing decline in that sensitive

concern for the constitutional paramountcy of fundamental rights which characterized the judiciary in the early post-freedom years.

Secondly, an increasing, though unconscious bias was evident in favour of legislative wisdom, if not supremacy, possibly resulting from India's close association with British constitutional law.

Lastly, there was "an inability to resist the influence of economic theories marketed by politicians in tabloid slogans of vague implications."

He warned the Conference, "If, the trends which I have mentioned are not halted or reversed in their cumulative effect, history will not acquit us of failing to carry out our sacred trust."

FOREIGN POLICY—A PLEA FOR PRAGMATISM

In the course of an illuminating article in the *Sunday Standard* of 12th August, Professor M. Ruthnaswamy, M.P., and a member of the Party's Central Organising Committee emphasised that self-interest and not ideology should govern our foreign policy. In this context he drew attention to the fact that amongst those who practise ideology in foreign policy is Mr. Nehru. He states: "His ideology in foreign policy is non-alignment. It started as neutrality and then under the fire of criticism in his own country as well as from outside it changed into neutralism, and later dynamic neutralism: and now has settled down as non-alignment with that typical Indian negative prefix to denote a positive idea and to be found in old words like Ahimsa.

"Wedded in this ideology of non-alignment, circumstances will not make him budge from it, at any rate till supreme danger, threatens as he has more than once acknowledged. Asked as early as June 17, 1960 if he still believed in this policy of non-alignment in spite of the danger on our frontiers, he exclaimed, 'What has the dangers on the frontiers got to do with the policy of non-alignment?'

"It is not only one ideology that the Prime Minister

is caught in. The ideology of non-alignment co-exists with the other ideologies of anti-Europeanism and pro-Asianism. The anti-Europeanism is a hang-over—the morning after the night before—of his pre-independence, anti-imperialist agitation against powers which were mostly European.

"He reacts quickly against moves of European powers like the Franco-British move against Suez and the American move against Cuba and is slow in his condemnation of the Russian suppression of the Hungarian rising. He has refused to give diplomatic recognition to Israel so as not to offend the Asiatic U.A.R. — thus hurting one of his dearest affections — love of progressive nationalism.

"Neither the ideology of non-alignment nor that of anti-Europeanism has served the interest of India. One corollary of non-alignment, i.e. co-existence, lies buried in the snows of the Himalayan frontier. Russia declared through Khrushchev recently that in any major conflict in which China was involved Russia would be on the side of China."

Professor Ruthnaswamy concludes by saying, "The only merit of the ideology of non-alignment is its originality. Mr. Nehru is the only begetter of this new principle of foreign policy. But no man has a right to be original at the expense of his country's interests."

A FOUR POINT PLAN TO CHECK CHINESE AGGRESSION

Break off with China, isolate the "Fifth Column" in the country, change the Defence Minister and enter into military alliance with friendly countries, is the four-fold strategy to meet the Chinese threat, suggested by Mr. M. R. Masani, in Bangalore recently.

Speaking on India's foreign policy, under the joint auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs and the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Mr. Masani also suggested a National Democratic Front composed of the Praja-Socialist, Swatantra and Jan Sangh parties.

NEWS FROM STATE PARTIES

ANDHRA PRADESH

Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddy, President of the Andhra Pradesh Swatantra Party addressing a news conference at Ranga Bhavan at Hyderabad said that an agitation from the village to the district level had already been launched by the Swatantra Party to protest against the proposed increase in land levy. The Swatantra Party stands for abolition of land taxes and only a token levy to maintain the land records should be collected. Land revenue increase was a major measure, whose settlement was of great importance to the State. Additional assessment on land was conceived in haste and sought to be legislated upon in a hurry, as Government needed more money for the Third Five-Year Plan. He wondered whether the Anantharaman Committee report, which as the basis for this new levy had been fully read by the

members of the Cabinet. It was also doubtful if the Bill was placed before the Congress Party before it was published as otherwise the legislators, would not have allowed the Bill to go forward. Apart from strong public disapproval the general discussions on the Bill in the legislature clearly show that former ministers and staunch Congress Party adherents do not approve of this measure. The possible result of the further levy would increase the burden over the existing rate by three hundred per cent. If the agrarian economy was hampered industrial production would also face a breakdown and with it the plans of the Government.

Mr. Latchanna Leader of the Swatantra Group in the Legislature who was present at the news conference, said that because of the increased taxation, there was bound to be still further inflation.

A walk out from the State Assembly, at Hyderabad

was staged by members of the Swatantra Party along with an Independent member, Mr. V. Ramachandra Rao. The members walked out soon after the House passed the motion for taking up the clause by clause discussion of the Andhra Pradesh Land Revenue (Additional Assembly) Bill. Mr. G. Latchanna, told the Speaker that they were fundamentally opposed to any increase in land revenue.

The Executive Committee of the Andhra Unit met in Hyderabad on 29th June to discuss the State Government's Land Revenue Enhancement Bill, which has since been passed into law, and as a consequence of which land tax revenue has increased by over 100%. The meeting decided to lead a mass deputation to the Speaker at the time it was placed in the Assembly for final approval. It was also decided to observe Land Revenue Enhancement Week from 15th to 22nd July throughout the State.

In fact campaigning against this outrageous measure of the Ruling Party was the main activity during the month. The Chief Whip of the Legislature Party, Shri Ramachandra Rao Deshpande, M.L.A. toured his constituency in Medak district for two days addressing meetings. Similarly the leader of the Legislative Party, Mr. G. Latchanna addressed a public meeting at Warangal on the 15th July. The State General Secretary of the Party, Mr. T. Krishnamma, went to Kurnool and Shri Nagineni Venkaiah. Member of the Executive Committee organised forty Workers and Public Meetings in Ongole taluk.

On 28th July the Party organised a protest march. Thousands of farmers from distant places with bullock carts and ploughs participated in this procession, led by G. Latchanna and Ramachandra Rao Deshpande. Subsequently the procession converted itself into a public meeting under the presidentship of Shrimati Bharati Devi Ranga. The procession presented a memorandum to the Speaker signed by 9000 farmers.

BOMBAY

A public meeting was held in Bombay to celebrate the third anniversary of the Party.

Mr. N. Dandekar, Chairman of the Maharashtra Unit, called upon the people to see that "Menon is sacked, the Chinese are told that they are getting no further, and that India having made enough enemies with her experiment in non-alignment now begins to make friends and enter into pacts for mutual defence." Earlier, Maharajkumar Himatsinhji of Kutch and a Swatantra member of Parliament, warned the people against taking the Chinese menace lightly. Mr. D. F. Karaka, Editor of the weekly *Current* sounded a note of caution on the basis of a study of the Chinese national character which he had made during the Second World War. Outlining the history of Chinese aggression and quoting profusely from newspaper and parliamentary comments, Mr. Karaka said that the Chinese had been emboldened to attack India after Prime Minister Nehru's meek acquiescence in the rape of Tibet. While India and Pakistan are fighting for Kashmir the chances are that China will

have it, unless 'we stop it with all the moral courage which we have displayed all along in history in a moment of crisis', said Mr. Karaka. Mr. Murarji Vaidya Vice-President of the Maharashtra Unit, ridiculed the apprehension of the Prime Minister that an India-China conflict might touch off a world war.

Under the auspices of the Burmah Shell Accounts and Audit Study Circle, Professor Phiroze J. Shroff delivered a lecture on the subject of "India Faces Economic Crisis" in the course of which he gave detailed facts and figures to show that the present Government policies were pushing India towards economic and financial collapse. (18.7.1962)

In the course of a press statement the Bombay Branch of the Party has strongly protested against the decision of the Bombay Electric Supply and Transport undertaking to curtail the hours of their Tram services as this would put to considerable inconvenience workers returning home after their late night shift.

DELHI

A meeting of the Interim Executive Committee was held presided over by Col. H. R. Pasricha, Convenor of the Delhi unit of the Party. It decided to observe a membership campaign week. Corner meetings will be organised for educating and mobilising public opinion. Mr. A. C. Bisaria and Mr. R. C. Sharma, executive Committee members, have enrolled five hundred members in Paharganj area. Mr. Mohan Lal Jatava, enrolled two hundred and fifty members at Bapanagar. The distribution of Party literature and a membership drive is also being launched in Chandni Chowk.

The Delhi Municipality has failed miserably to provide even the primary amenities to the citizen of this city. Even the councillors have been publicly complaining of the over-all inefficiency prevailing in all the departments of the Corporation and the large-scale prevalence of graft and corruption in the offices. The Executive Committee meeting has decided to launch a campaign against these derelictions.

The Swatantra Club held a meeting at Regal Building, New Delhi. Colonel H. R. Pasricha, spoke on India's Foreign Policy. He deplored the non-alignment policy of the Government and suggested that it should make a regional pact with South Asian countries who had common borders with China so that aggression on any one country would be met collectively. Amongst others who addressed the meeting were Mr. R. N. Rekhi, Major S. K. Lall, Mr. A. C. Bisaria and Mr. R. C. Rawat.

MYSORE

An informal meeting was held with Swatantra Party M.L.A.'s at the Legislator's Home.

Mr. V. T. Sreenivasan, General Secretary, explained the need to have these meetings as they would keep the Legislative and the Organisational wings of the Swatantra Party in close contact with each other and so foster Party interest both within and outside the Legislature. It has been agreed upon that at future

sessions of the Assembly these meetings would be held twice a week. The M.L.A.'s have been given fifteen membership books each to enrol members in their constituencies.

Amongst those who attended the meeting were Mr. S. V. Kashinath, Mr. R. Peeranna, Mr. Mahataswamy Virupakshiah, Mr. G. D. Patil, Mr. Goapala Salenna, Mr. B. Channabyre Gowda, Mr. Vidyadhara Guruji Sayanna, Raja Piddanayaka, and Mr. C. M. Revanna Siddiah. Apart from Mr. V. T. Sreenivasan, Mr. P. H. Seshagiri Rao, Mr. G. S. Subbarathnam of the Sub-Committee appointed to assist the M.L.A.'s in their work, were also present.

ORISSA

The Chief Justice, Mr. R. L. Narasimhan and Mr. Justice R. K. Das, of a Division Bench of the Orissa High Court, allowed the appeal by Raj Dev, a Swatantra Party members of the Assembly. Mr. Gangadhar Mohapatra, the defeated Congress candidate had filed a petition on grounds of malpractices used by Mr. Dev. The election tribunal had upheld Mr. Mohapatra's charges and declared Mr. Raj Dev's election void, disqualifying him from standing for election for six years. The Chief Justice who delivered the judgment with which Mr. Justice Das agreed, said that, though it was not customary for an appellate court to disturb the findings of the trial court based on appreciation of oral evidence, it was felt that the tribunal had overlooked the fact that most of the witnesses who appeared for the petitioner were unreliable, and some were even accomplices in the commission of the crime within the meaning of the Evidence Act.

PUNJAB

The Nabha Unit of the Swatantra Party convened a public meeting to propagate the Party ideology and to evoke public opinion against administration's derelictions. The main spokesmen at the meeting were Sardar Basant Singh, Mr. Surendra Nath Khosla and Dr. Kali Charan. The meeting received an enthusiastic response.

The Gurgaon district unit was reorganised at the endeavour of Chaudhury Inder Singh, who infused new blood into the Unit by collecting a batch of live-wire workers. A sub-office at Rewari has also been set up, and the Party Flag will be hoisted over both these offices. Rao Prabhu Dayal has been appointed district Convenor and will be assisted by Shri. M. L. Reestogi, Babu Panna Lal, Rao Vijay Pal Singh, Shri R. D. Bhagat. Chaudhury Inder Singh found enthusiastic support for the Party in the Gurgaon District.

A Workers meeting at Pathankot was organised by the District Unit of Gurdaspur. It was attended by the office bearers of the local unit and the State President. Amongst various other matters, it was unanimously approved that Sardar Uttam Singh should continue to hold charge of the district. An Adhoc Committee of twenty-one persons drawn from the

various Assembly constituencies in the district, was also appointed. Two mammoth rural conferences were addressed by Jathedar Uddham Singh Nagoke.

A Conference at Taran Taran, district Amritsar, held on the Amavas fair day, comprised of over fifty thousand people from various parts of the province. Another conference was held at Dera Baba Nanak, district Gurdaspur, and was attended by thousands of people. The conference was addressed by Sardar Gurmej Singh, M.L.A., Sardar Natha Singh, General Secretary of the District Unit and others.

In the Punjab all opposition parties have formed a United Front to orient public opinion against the taxation policy of both the State and the Central Governments in general and the Punjab Temporary Taxation Bill in particular. A joint convention of all the co-operating parties was held at Jullunder to discuss and adapt methods to achieve this end.

A major decision taken by the Convention was the formation of co-ordinating sub-committees of the co-operating parties at district levels. The District Units have been advised to form their own sub-committees. The State office will be in constant touch with the District Units and thus there will be complete co-operation between the two.

The United Opposition Front for the moment functions only over specific matters but later several other common factors will be also included.

The Swatantra Party was represented at this Convention by the State President Jathedar Uddham Singh Nagoke and the Joint Secretary Sardar Basant Singh.

WEST BENGAL

The Swatantra Party celebrated its Third Anniversary on August 1. Public meetings were held, booklets and leaflets explaining the ideology of the Party were distributed.

Under the Presidentship of Mr. Dev Sankar Roy, a meeting was held in the premises of the State office. Mr. M. A. Hannan in his speech briefed people about the day when the Swatantra Party came into being. He felt the party had already established its foot hold and had a bright future before it. The Swatantra Party, Mr. Nandi another speaker, said, was fighting to realise the ideal of Swaraj in the lives of the citizens of India. Mr. Pearce and Mr. Shome in their speeches, said, that along with publicity and propaganda the party should embark on a constructive programme also. The President Mr. Dev Sankar Roy made an appeal to the members to work with a firm determination for the betterment of the party cause.

The Swatantra Party workers of central Calcutta met under the leadership of Mr. H. A. Hannan, to commemorate the Party's Third Anniversary.

The Anniversary was also celebrated enthusiastically in the village of Munshidanga in Howrah. A public meeting organised on the occasion was presided over by Janab Amzad Ali Sardar. On an appeal for enrolment of members by the Speakers, many persons present at the meeting enrolled themselves as members and promised to participate in a campaign for enrolment.

(For Private Circulation)

REORGANISATION OF BIHAR UNIT

The following resolution on the reorganisation of the Party Unit in Bihar was unanimously adopted at a joint meeting of the Organisation Sub-Committee and the Parliamentary Board of the Party which met in Madras on July 22

ON 14th March the Organisation Sub-Committee authorised Shri Kamakhya Narain Singh, the President of the Bihar State Unit, to appoint an interim State Committee and office bearers and to reconstitute the District Committees to the extent necessary till they were replaced by duly elected committees. Pursuant to the authority given to him it is regretted that the President of the Bihar Unit has appointed a Working Committee which is open to the charge of being altogether unrepresentative of the various elements in the Party in the State.

2. Shri Kamakhya Narain Singh has circulated cyclostyled copies of a Report on the results of the General Elections in the course of which he has made highly offensive and incorrect references to the Central Organising Committee, its Parliamentary Sub-Committee and their representatives who dealt with the affairs of Bihar, and the Central Office. In the Report, the complaint is made that there was "interference" on the part of these authorities causing "disruption" in the work of the State Unit. The Report demands: "If I am to function as the Instrument of the People's Will, then I must not be fettered from above and within." Shri Kamakhya Narain concludes his Report with the following ultimatum: "If I am not allowed to work out our destiny, then this is the time someone else is put in charge of Bihar affairs and I am absolved of historic responsibilities." Had this report been available for perusal before the decision referred to above, the Committee would certainly not have taken the decision it did in view of the totally undemocratic nature of the claim made by Shri Kamakhya Narain Singh.

3. In the opinion of the Parliamentary Board and the Organisation Sub-Committee at this Joint Meeting this is a claim by the President of a State Unit to be released of restraint from above and democratic procedures within the unit. Such a claim if conceded would disrupt the integrity of the Party. This is a demand which no national democratic party can possibly accept.

This challenge to the Party's authority comes as a culmination of a series of acts in defiance of the Party's decisions extending over the past twelve months including the flouting of the Baroda Award of the Central Organising Committee which was designed to further harmonious functioning of the Party in

Bihar. The attention of the Joint Meeting has also been drawn to certain more recent acts during and after the General Election campaign:

- (a) Several changes were made by the Bihar State President in the list of candidates approved by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee without its approval.
- (b) The President of the State Unit tried to get the Returning Officers in the Districts of Purnea and Darbhanga to accept as certifying authorities persons other than those approved by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and furnished to the electoral authorities. In consequence the Central Office of the Party had to approach the Chief Electoral Officer and Returning Officers concerned in order to ensure that the certifying authorities approved by it were allowed to function on the Party's behalf.
- (c) The President of the State unit ignored the request of the Central Office addressed to State units that they should recommend the names of the Party's candidates for election to the Rajya Sabha in March 1962 for the approval of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and nominated such candidates in Bihar without consulting the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and getting its approval.

5. The Organisation Sub-Committee with the approval of the Parliamentary Board has therefore regretfully come to the conclusion that the authority given by the decision of the Organisation Sub-Committee on March 14, 1962 be and is hereby revoked and the Working Committee and any other committees appointed under that authority stand dissolved. The following interim Executive Committee is hereby appointed for the State of Bihar, with power to enrol members and carry on the functions of the Party in all respects until elected District Committees and a State Committee come into existence in accordance with the Party's Constitution:

Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh	President
Mr. Ram Binod Singh	} Vice Presidents
Mr. Jaleshwar Prasad	
Mr. J. K. P. N. Singh	
Dr. Basant Narain Singh	
Mr. Jugal Kishore Narayan	
Mr. N. Baksi	General Secretary

6. This joint meeting appeals to all members of the Party in Bihar to give their loyal cooperation in the implementation of this resolution."

Swatantra and Planning

While the Swatantra Party rejects outright the current pattern of centralised and top-heavy planning based on totalitarian programmes, it is not opposed to planning as such. Planning must, however, be carried on within the limits of the Constitution without relaxing the care for freedom guaranteed in it. Above all, it must know where to stop.



Swatantra and the Common Man

The Swatantra Party holds that the first duty of a government is to meet the common man's needs of food, clothing, housing and water in adequate measure.

The Swatantra Party holds that self-sufficiency in food and raw materials is the first condition of the economy of a country like ours. Food being the principal item in the common man's budget, the production of food should be the first concern of the State. The ruling party has completely failed in this primary duty. Self-sufficiency in food production has been sacrificed to spectacular attempts to achieve long-term projects. Essential needs like fertiliser, seed and water have not been made available to the peasant in adequate measure.



Swatantra and Labour

The Swatantra Party accepts the workers' right to organise themselves and through these organisations to improve the conditions of their life and work. Strong and responsible trade unions are an integral part of a democratic industrial order. Workers must be encouraged and helped to build their own unions and through them to bargain collectively with their employers regarding the terms and conditions of their employment. The Swatantra Party is not satisfied with the present position of trade unions. Most of them are managed by outsiders and many of them are playthings in the hands of political parties. The Party is keen that trade unions should grow as independent organisations of workers controlled and managed by themselves. Being opposed to the domination of trade unions by political parties, the Swatantra Party will not join the race to establish control over trade unions, though its members will be always ready to help in all possible ways.